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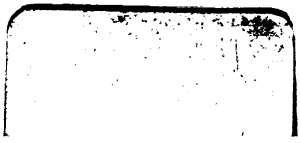

A

SELECTION

FROM THE

ENGLISH PROSE WORKS

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OF

JOHN MILTON.

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PREFACE.

We have no prose compositions of Milton's, of an earlier date than that which stands first in these volumes, except some of his college exercises and five of his familiar letters. Four of the letters and the college exercises are in Latin, and were not published till 1674, the last year of his life.* The fifth letter, of which Dr Birch has printed the rough and the corrected draught, from the author's own manuscripts, is in English, and was written to excuse himself to a friend for having so long delayed to enter the service of the church. It is so characteristic of Milton's noble mind and principles, that the reader will doubtless be pleased to possess it. The corrected copy is as follows:

'Sir,—Besides that in sundry other respects I must acknowledge me to profit by you, whenever we meet, you are often to me, and were yesterday especially, as a good watchman to admonish, that the hours of the night pass on, (for so I call my life as yet obscure and unserviceable to mankind,) and that the day with me is at hand, wherein Christ commands all to labor, while there is light. Which because I am persuaded you do to no other purpose than out of a true desire, that God should be honored in every one, I therefore think my-

*He was born on the ninth of December, 1608.

self bound, though unasked, to give you account, as oft as occasion is, of this my tardy moving, according to the precept of my conscience, which, I firmly trust, is not without God. Yet now I will not strain for any set apology, but only refer myself to what my mind shall have at any time to declare herself at her best ease. But if you think, as you said, that too much love of learning is in fault, and that I have given up myself to dream away my years in the arms of studious retirement, like Endymion with the moon, as the tale of Latmus goes; yet consider, that if it were no more but the mere love of learning, whether it proceed from a principle bad, good, or natural, it could not have held out thus long against so strong opposition on the other side of every kind. For if it be bad, why should not all the fond hopes, that forward youth and vanity are fledge with, together with gain, pride, and ambition, call me forward more powerfully, than a poor, regardless, and unprofitable sin of curiosity should be able to withhold me, whereby a man cuts himself off from all action, and becomes the most helpless, pusillanimous, and unweaponed creature in the world, the most unfit and unable to do that, which all mortals most aspire to, either to be useful to his friends, or to offend his enemies. Or if it be to be thought a natural proneness, there is against that a much more potent inclination inbred, which about this time of a man's life solicits most, the desire of house and family of his own, to which nothing is esteemed more helpful than the early entering into credible employment, and nothing hindering than this affected solitariness. And though this were enough,

yet there is to this another act, if not of pure, yet of refined nature, no less available to dissuade prolonged obscurity, a desire of honor and repute and immortal fame, seated in the breast of every true scholar, which all make haste to by the readiest ways of publishing and divulging conceived merits, as well those that shall, as those that never shall obtain it. Nature therefore would presently work the more prevalent way, if there were nothing but this inferior bent of herself to restrain her. Lastly, the love of learning, as it is the pursuit of something good, it would sooner follow the more excellent and supreme good known and presented, and so be quickly diverted from the empty and fantastic chase of shadows and notions, to the solid good flowing from due and timely obedience to that command in the gospel set out by the terrible seizing of him that hid the talent. It is more probable therefore, that not the endless delight of speculation, but this very consideration of that great commandment, does not press forward as soon as many do, to undergo, but keeps off with a sacred reverence and religious advisement how best to undergo; not taking thought of being late, so it give advantage to be more fit; for those that were latest, lost nothing, when the master of the vineyard came to give each one his hire. And here I am come to a stream head, copious enough to disburden itself like Nilus at seven mouths into an ocean. But then I should also run into a reciprocal contradiction of ebbing and flowing at once, and do that, which I excuse myself for not doing, "preach and not preach." Yet that you may see, that I am something suspicious of myself,

and do take notice of a certain belatedness in me, I am bold to send you some of my nightward thoughts some while since, because they come in not altogether unfitly, made up in a Petrarchian stanza, which I told you of.

'How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth,
Stoln on his wing my three and twentieth year!
My hasting days fly on with full career,
But my late spring no bud or blossom shew'th.
Perhaps my semblance might deceive the truth,
That I to manhood am arrived so near,
And inward ripeness doth much less appear,
That some more timely-happy spirits indu'th.
Yet be it less or more, or soon or slow,
It shall be still in strictest measure even
To that same lot, however mean or high,
Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heaven.
All is, if I have grace to use it so,
As ever in my great Task-Master's eye.

'By this I believe you may well repent of having made mention at all of this matter; for if I have not all this while won you to this, I have certainly wearied you of it. This therefore alone may be a sufficient reason for me to keep me as I am, lest having thus tired you singly, I should deal worse with a whole congregation, and spoil all the patience of a parish; for I myself do not only see my own tediousness, but now grow offended with it, that has hindered me thus long from coming to the last and best period of my letter, that which must now chiefly work my pardon, that I am your true and unfeigned friend.'

But Milton, it is well known, never entered the profession here referred to, although it was to the service of the church, as he tells us,* that 'by the intentions of my parents and friends I was destined of a child, and in mine own resolutions, till coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either straight perjure or split his faith, I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing.' But that 'calm and pleasing solitariness,' in which he so much delighted, was destined to be broken, and, 'put from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies,' the poet and the scholar was ere long to 'embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes.'

The parties which rent the kingdom, were daily assuming towards each other a more menacing aspect. The resistance of the Scots, from which Milton dates the commencement of the civil war, had actually taken place, and the hum of preparation for the conflict, was becoming more audible even in England. In 1638, however, he saw so little to detain him at home, that he set out upon a visit to the continent. After a short delay at Paris, where he was introduced to Grotius, he passed into Italy, a country, which, already interwoven with his most cherished associations by its elder and its later literature, was ever after to be recurred to with

* Vol. I. of this Selection, p. 149.

the fondest recollections of friendship. His personal beauty, his cheerfulness and affability, his intellectual power, his uncommon learning, and above all, perhaps, his critical familiarity with the Italian tongue and its treasures, insured him a ready reception wherever he went, and were acknowledged and praised in the manner at once most flattering to his selfestimation, and congenial to his tastes. It was in Italy he saw Galileo, then under the restraint of the Inquisition, from whom it is suspected he caught those glimpses of a better philosophy of the heavens, which are seen in Paradise Lost. In Italy, too, he became acquainted with Manso, the accomplished and virtuous Marquis of Villa, the patron of Tasso. And it was in Italy, he formed more than one friendship, that was destined to solace and cheer him when old, blind, and, as the world calls it, disgraced. From Italy, he was desirous to pass into Sicily and Greece, countries by his course of study impressed upon his imagination as deeply, and connected with his finer feelings as strongly, as that which he was about to leave. But at Naples, the melancholy news reached him from England, that the civil war had begun; and 'I thought it base,' he says, 'when my fellow citizens were fighting for liberty at home, that I, even for the improvement of my mind, should be travelling at my ease abroad.'* His intended visit

* 'In Siciliam quoque et Græciam trajicere volentem, me tristis ex Angliâ belli civilis nuntius revocavit. Turpe enim existimabam, dum mei cives domi de libertate dimicarent, ne animi causâ, otiosè peregrinari.' Defensio Sec. Prose Works, vol. V. p. 231. I quote from what is commonly called Symmons's edition. Dr Symmons, however, though his Life of Milton is prefixed to it, did not edit it.

to the lands of Theocritus and of Homer, he therefore did not for a moment hesitate to forego, but hastening homewards, arrived in London after an absence of about fifteen months, nearly at the time when Charles renewed the war with the Scots, in which his forces were defeated by General Lesley, in August, 1639.*

He took part, as it is needless to say, with those of his countrymen who were opposed to the bishops and the king; but not in arms. 'Relying upon God, they, indeed,' he says, 'repelled servitude with the most justifiable war; of which praise though I claim no share, I can yet easily defend myself from the charge, if any such be brought against me, either of timidity or of indolence. For I declined the toils and dangers of war, for no reason but that I might, with much more effect and not less danger to myself, assist my countrymen in another way, and show a spirit neither dejected by misfortune, nor more than justly apprehensive of calumny, or even of death. As from a child I had been devoted to the more liberal studies, and was always stronger in intellect than body, declining the labors of the camp, in which any robust common soldier would easily have surpassed me, I betook myself to those weapons with which I could do most execution, that, by bringing into action, not the inferior, but if I were wise, the better and more efficient part of my nature, I might do the utmost in my power for my country and her excellent cause.'†

* Ibid. p. 232.

† Atque illi quidem Deo perinde confisi, servitutem honestissimis armis pepulêre; cujus laudis etsi nullam partem mihi vindico, à reprehensione tamen vel timiditatis vel ignaviæ, si qua infertur, facilè

It was not immediately, however, that Milton could exert himself in the way he proposed. But as soon as the parliament, which Charles was obliged to assemble, had lessened the restraints of the press, 'every mouth,' he tells us, 'was opened against the bishops. Some complained of their personal vices, some of the vice of the order itself. It was wrong, they maintained, that they alone should differ from all the reformed churches besides; that the church should be governed according to the example of the brethren, but, above all, by the word of God. At the sight of these things, I was indeed aroused, and when I perceived that the right way to liberty was taken, that if discipline beginning from religion held its course to the morals and institutions of the commonwealth, the advance would be direct from these beginnings, by these steps, to the deliverance of the whole life of man from slavery; as also I had taken care from my youth above all things not to be ignorant of law, human or divine, and had considered with myself whether I should ever be useful at all, if I should now be wanting to my country, to the church, and to so many brethren exposing themselves

me tueor. Neque enim militiæ labores et pericula sic defugi, ut non aliâ ratione, et operam, multò utiliorem, nec minore cum periculo, meis civibus navarim, et animum dubiis in rebus neque demissum unquam, neque ullius invidiæ, vel etiam mortis plus æquo metuentem præstiterim. Nam cùm ab adolescentulo humanioribus essem studiis, ut qui maximè deditus, et ingenio semper quàm corpore validior, post-habitâ castrensi operâ, quâ me gregarius quilibet robustior facilè superâsset, ad ea me contuli, quibus plus potui; ut parte mei meliore ac potiore, si saperem, non deteriore, ad rationes patriæ, causamque hanc præstantissimam quantum maximè possem momentum accederem.' Ibid. p. 199.

to danger for the sake of the gospel; I resolved, although I was then intent upon other objects, to bestow upon them my whole mind, the whole strength of my application.' *

The first fruits of this resolution appeared in a piece published at London in 1641, entitled, 'Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England, and the Causes that hitherto have hindered it. In two Books. Written to a Friend.' In the same year, five presbyterian divines published a treatise against episcopacy, which they called 'An Answer to a Book, entitled, "An humble Remonstrance;" in which the Original of Liturgy and Episcopacy is discussed, and Queries propounded concerning both; the Parity of Bishops and Presbyters in Scripture demonstrated; the Occasion of their Imparity in Antiquity discovered; the Disparity of the ancient and our modern Bishops manifested; the antiquity of ruling Elders in the Church vindicated; the prelatical Church bounded. Written by Smectymnuus;' a quaint title, and a quaint device

* 'Ut primùm loquendi saltem cœpta est libertas concedi, omnia in episcopos aperiri ora; alii de ipsorum vitiis, alii de ipsius ordinis vitio conqueri; iniquum esse, se solos ab ecclesiis omnibus, quotquot reformatæ sunt, discrepare; exemplo fratrum, sed maximè ex verbo Dei, gubernari ecclesiam convenire. Ad hæc sanè experrectus, cùm veram affectari viam ad libertatem cernerem, ab his initiis, his passibus, ad liberandam servitute vitam omnem mortalium, rectissimè procedi, si ab religione disciplina orta, ad mores et instituta reipublicæ emanaret, cùm etiam me ita ab adolescentiâ parâssem, ut quid divini, quid humani esset juris, ante omnia possem non ignorare, meque consuluissem ecquando ullius usûs essem futurus, si nunc patriæ, immo verò ecclesiæ totque fratribus, evangelii causâ periculo sese objicientibus, deessem, statui, etsi tunc alia quædam meditabar, huc omne ingenium, omnes industriæ vires transferre.' Ibid. pp. 232, 233.

for intimating who were its writers. The authors were Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow, of the initials of whose names the celebrated appellation, Smectymnuus, is composed. The 'Humble Remonstrance,' to which they replied, was the work of Dr Joseph Hall, bishop of Norwich.

Against the Smectymnuans, archbishop Usher wrote a piece, which Milton and one of his biographers, Todd, call a 'Confutation;' which another of his biographers, Birch correctly styles the 'Original of Bishops and Metropolitans;' and still a third, Symmons, 'The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy.' 'A Defence of the humble Remonstrance' was also published by bishop Hall. The learning of these distinguished and able men confessedly bore hard upon the presbyterians, and Milton, the only man of his party equal to the contest, appeared for their support. Still in the same year, he published, with a particular reference to the arguments of Usher, two works; first, 'Of Prelatical Episcopacy, and whether it may be deduced from the Apostolical Times, by Virtue of those Testimonies which are alleged to that Purpose in some late Treatises; one whereof goes under the name of James, Archbishop of Armagh;' second, 'The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty. In two Books.' To the publication of Hall he replied, also in 1641, in his 'Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus.'

In the beginning of 1642, a son, it is said, of bishop Hall, wrote a reply to the 'Animadversions,' which he

called 'A modest Confutation against a slanderous, and scurrilous Libel.' To this, which exceeded even the work which called it forth in violence, and indulged in the most wanton abuse of Milton's private character, our author replied in a work that appears to have closed the controversy with the church, so far as it was conducted with the pen. It bore the title of 'An Apology against a Pamphlet called, "A modest Confutation of the Animadversions upon the Remonstrant against Smectymnuus;"' or, as in some copies, 'An Apology for Smectymnuus, with the Reason of Church Government.' It was published in 1642.*

The five controversial tracts just mentioned, compose

* The account Milton himself gives of the works already mentioned, which it will appear I have closely followed, is this:

'Primùm itaque, [the passage immediately follows that last quoted, p. xiii.] de Reformandâ Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ, duos ad amicum quendam libros conscripsi. Deinde, cum duo præ cæteris magni nominis episcopi suum jus contra ministros quosdam primarios assererent, ratus de iis rebus, quas amore solo veritatis, et ex officii christiani ratione didiceram, haud pejùs me dicturum, quàm qui de suo quæstu et injustissimo dominatu contendebant, *ad hunc*, libris duobus, quorum unus de Episcopatu Prælatico, alter de Ratione Disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ inscribitur, *ad illum*, scriptis quibusdam Animadversionibus, et mox Apologiâ, respondi; et ministris facundiam hominis, ut ferebatur, ægrè sustinentibus, suppetias tuli; et ab eo tempore, si quid postea responderent, interfui.' Prose Works, vol. V. p. 233.

'First, therefore, I wrote, Of the Reformation of the English Churc h two books, to a friend. Next, as two bishops of great reputation above the rest, asserted their cause against certain leading ministers, and I was persuaded that upon subjects which I had studied solely from the love of truth and a sense of Christian duty, I should not write worse than they who contended for their own lucre and most iniquitous domination; to one of them, I replied in two books, one of which was entitled, Of Prelatical Episcopacy, the other, Of the Reason of Church Government; to the other, in certain Animadversions, and

the first volume of this Selection. They stand in the order in which they were originally published, four of them without the omission of a word, and the 'Animadversions' abridged one half. The reasons for this abridgement will be given hereafter.

In 1644, which, as will be seen, was an active year for Milton's pen, he published his short treatise 'Of Education,' addressed to 'Master Samuel Hartlib,' and the celebrated 'Areopagitica, a Speech of Mr John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing, to the Parliament of England.' Both of these pieces are here given entire.

But in 1643, there happened an event of great consequence to Milton's happiness, and, as it has proved, of unmerited disaster to his fame. 'About Whitsuntide it was, or a little later,' says his nephew Philips, 'that he took a journey into the country, nobody about him certainly knowing the reason, or that it was more than a journey of recreation. After a month's stay, home he returns a married man, who went out a bachelor, his wife being Mary, the eldest daughter of Mr Richard Powell, then a justice of the peace, of Forest Hill, near Shotover in Oxfordshire; some few of her nearest relations accompanying the bride to her new habitation, which, by reason the father, [Milton's,] nor any body else were come, was able to receive them; where the feasting held for some days in celebration of the nuptials, and for entertainment of the bride's

soon after, in An Apology; and thus, as was said, brought timely assistance to the ministers, who but ill bore up against the bishop's eloquence; and from that time should they afterwards make any reply, I was ready to answer.'

friends. At length they took their leave, and returning to Forest Hill, left the sister behind; probably not much to her satisfaction, as appeared by the sequel. By that time she had for a month or thereabout led a philosophical life, after having been used at home to a great house, and much company and joviality, her friends, possibly incited by her own desire, made earnest suit by letter, to have her company the remaining part of the summer; which was granted, on condition of her return at the time appointed, Michaelmas, or thereabout.'*

Michaelmas came, however, without bringing Milton any tidings of his wife's return. After some time, he wrote her a letter, reminding her of her engagement, but received no answer. Other letters having been treated with the same neglect, he resolved to send the next by a special messenger, that he might be sure it reached its destination. His messenger was dismissed with contempt, and he himself set at defiance; a course of conduct, which, according to Philips, p. 24, 'in all probability, was grounded upon no other cause but this; namely, that the family, being generally addicted to the cavalier party, as they called it, and some of them, possibly, engaged in the king's service, who by this time had his headquarters at Oxford, and was in some prospect of success; they began to repent them of having matched the eldest daughter of their family so contrary to them in opinion, and thought it would be a blot in their escutcheon, when-

* Philips, p. 18.

ever that court should come to flourish again. However, it so incensed our author, that he thought it would be dishonorable ever to receive her again, after such a repulse; so that he forthwith prepared to fortify himself with arguments for such a resolution.'

These arguments he published to the world in four treatises, two of which appeared in 1644, and two in the year following. The first of the series was 'The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,' which was originally printed anonymously. Milton, however, who had not hesitated to assert the principles of protestantism in the very Vatican, was not a man to disown what he conscientiously believed, because its open profession would expose him to ridicule or to danger. When, therefore, his work was attacked from the pulpit, and the author of it threatened with prosecution, he made it more complete, and in the same year published a second edition of it, with an address to the parliament and assembly, subscribed by 'The Honorer and Attendant of their noble Worth and Virtues, John Milton.' The title of this edition, which of course is the one copied in compiling his prose works, and of which about two thirds are retained in this Selection, is as follows: 'The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce restored to the Good of both Sexes, from the Bondage of the Canon Law, and other Mistakes, to the true Meaning of Scripture in the Law and Gospel compared. Wherein are also set down the bad Consequences of punishing or condemning of Sin, that which the Law of God allows, and Christ abolished not. Now the second time revised and much augmented. In two

Books. To the Parliament of England, with the Assembly. The Author, J. M.' The general principle maintained in this, and all his other writings upon the subject, is, 'That indisposition, unfitness, and contrariety of mind, arising from a cause in nature unchangeable, hindering and ever likely to hinder the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace, is a greater reason of divorce than natural frigidity, especially if there be no children, and that there be mutual consent.'* It is not surprising that this was considered new and dangerous doctrine. But to show that it was not wholly new, Milton published, still in 1644, 'The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce. Written to Edward the Sixth, in his second Book of the Kingdom of Christ. And now Englished. Wherein a late Book restoring the "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," is here confirmed and justified by the Authority of Martin Bucer. To the Parliament of England. Published by Authority.' To this translation, Milton, besides 'certain testimonies of the high approbation which learned men have given of Martin Bucer,' prefixed an address to the parliament, and added a postscript, from each of which I shall here give an extract. In the address, we have, in his own noble manner, the following account of his meditations and writings upon this subject.

'Certainly if it be in man's discerning to sever providence from chance, I could allege many instances, wherein there would appear cause to esteem of me no other than a passive instrument under some power and

* Selection, vol. II. p. 92.

counsel higher and better than can be human, working to a general good in the whole course of this matter. For that I owe no light, or leading received from any man in the discovery of this truth, what time I first undertook it in the "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," and had only the infallible grounds of scripture to be my guide; he who tries the inmost heart, and saw with what severe industry and examination of myself, I set down every period, will be my witness. When I had almost finished the first edition, I chanced to read in the notes of Hugo Grotius upon the fifth of Matthew; whom I straight understood inclining to reasonable terms in this controversy; and something he whispered rather than disputed about the law of charity, and the true end of wedlock. Glad therefore of such an able assistant, however at much distance, I resolved at length to put off into this wild and calumnious world. For God, it seems, intended to prove me, whether I durst alone take up a rightful cause against a world of disesteem, and found I durst. My name I did not publish, as not willing it should sway the reader either for me or against me. But when I was told, that the style, which what it ails to be so soon distinguishable I cannot tell, was known by most men, and that some of the clergy began to inveigh and exclaim on what I was credibly informed they had not read; I took it then for my proper season, both to show them a name that could easily contemn such an indiscreet kind of censure, and to reinforce the question with a more accurate diligence; that if any of them would be so good as to leave railing, and to let us hear

so much of his learning and christian wisdom, as will be strictly demanded of him in his answering to this problem, care was had he should not spend his preparations against a nameless pamphlet.

'By this time I had learned that Paulus Fagius, one of the chief divines in Germany, sent for by Frederick the Palatine, to reform his dominion, and after that invited hither in king Edward's days, to be a professor of divinity in Cambridge, was of the same opinion touching divorce, which these men so lavishly traduced in me. What I found, I inserted where fittest place was, thinking sure they would respect so grave an author, at least to the moderating of their odious inferences. And having now perfected a second edition, I referred the judging thereof to your high and impartial sentence, honored lords and commons! For I was confident, if any thing generous, any thing noble, and above the multitude, were left yet in the spirit of England, it could be no where sooner found, and no where sooner understood, than in that house of justice and true liberty where ye sit in council. Nor doth the event hitherto, for some reasons which I shall not here deliver, fail me of what I conceived so highly. Nevertheless, being far otherwise dealt with by some, of whose profession and supposed knowledge I had better hope, and esteemed the deviser of a new and pernicious paradox, I felt no difference within me from that peace and firmness of mind, which is of nearest kin to patience and contentment; both for that I knew I had divulged a truth linked inseparably with the most fundamental rules of Christianity, to stand or fall together,

and was not uninformed that divers learned and judicious men testified their daily approbation of the book. Yet at length it hath pleased God, who had already given me satisfaction in myself, to afford me now a means whereby I may be fully justified also in the eyes of men. When the book had been now the second time set forth well nigh three months, as I best remember, I then first came to hear that Martin Bucer had written much concerning divorce; whom earnestly turning over, I soon perceived, but not without amazement, in the same opinion, confirmed with the same reasons which in that published book, without the help or imitation of any precedent writer, I had labored out, and laid together. Not but that there is some difference in the handling, in the order, and the number of arguments, but still agreeing in the same conclusion. So as I may justly gratulate mine own mind with due acknowledgement of assistance from above, which led me, not as a learner, but as a collateral teacher, to a sympathy of judgment with no less a man than Martin Bucer. And he, if our things here below arrive him where he is, does not repent him to see that point of knowledge which he first, and with an unchecked freedom preached to those more knowing times of England, now found so necessary, though what he admonished were lost out of our memory; yet that God doth now again create the same doctrine in another unwritten table, and raises it up immediately out of his pure oracle, to the convincement of a perverse age, eager in the reformation of names and ceremonies,

but in realities as traditional and as ignorant as their forefathers.'*

The postscript, begins with a passage, which I copy the rather because it in a measure justifies me in confining this Selection to Milton's English prose, by the taste of Milton himself.

'Thus far Martin Bucer; whom, where I might without injury to either part of the cause, I deny not to have epitomized; in the rest observing a well warranted rule, not to give an inventory of so many words, but to weigh their force. I could have added that eloquent and right christian discourse, written by Erasmus on this argument, not disagreeing in effect from Bucer. But this I hope will be enough to excuse me with the mere Englishman, to be no forger of new and loose opinions. Others may read him in his own phrase on the first to the Corinthians, and ease me who never could delight in long citations, much less in whole traductions; whether it be natural disposition or èducation in me, or that my mother bore me a speaker of what God made mine own, and not a translator.'†

His third book upon divorce, published in 1645, was entitled, 'Tetrachordon: Expositions upon the Four Chief Places in Scripture which treat of Marriage, or Nullities in Marriage. On Gen. i. 27, 28, compared and explained by Gen. ii. 18, 23, 24. On Deut. xxiv. 1, 2. On Matt. v. 31, 32, with Matt. xix. from ver. 3, to 11. On 1 Cor. vii. from ver. 10, to 16. Wherein the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, as was lately

*Prose Works, vol. II. p. 71—78. †Ibid p. 109.

published, is confirmed by Explanation of Scripture, by Testimony of ancient Fathers, of Civil Laws in the primitive Church, of famousest reformed Divines; and lastly, by an intended Act of the Parliament and Church of England in the last year of Edward the Sixth.' His last work upon this subject was given to the public in 1645, under the title of 'Colasterion; a Reply to a nameless Answer against "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce." Wherein the trivial Author of that Answer is discovered, the Licenser conferred with, and the Opinion which they traduce, defended.'

His 'Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,' as we learn chiefly from the two works last mentioned, was attacked from several quarters immediately after its appearance. The clergy were particularly offended by it, and repeatedly urged upon parliament the propriety of passing some censure upon it. Soon after the publication of his three first works on this subject, 'the assembly of divines, then sitting at Westminster,' as we are told by Wood, 'took especial notice of them; and thereupon, though the author had obliged them by his pen in his defence of Smectymnuus and other their controversies had with the bishops, they, impatient of having the clergy's jurisdiction, as they reckoned it, invaded, did, instead of answering or disproving what these books asserted, cause him to be summoned before the house of lords. But that house, whether approving the doctrine, or not favoring his accuser, did soon dismiss him.' Nor was this all. In a sermon before the lords and commons, on a fast day, in August, 1644, Herbert Palmer, B. D. a member of the

assembly of divines,* told his hearers that there was 'a wicked book abroad and uncensured, though deserving to be burnt, whose author had been so impudent as to set his name to it, and dedicate it to themselves.' Of the forbearance of the parliament, Milton thus speaks in his dedication of the Tetrachordon.

'Although it be generally known, how and by whom ye have been instigated to a hard censure of that former book, entitled, "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," an opinion held by some of the best among reformed writers, without scandal or confutement, though now thought new and dangerous by some of our severe Gnostics, whose little reading, and less meditating, holds ever with hardest obstinacy that which it took up with easiest credulity; I do not find yet that aught, for the furious incitements which have been used, hath issued by your appointment, that might give the least interruption or disrepute either to the author, or to the book. Which he who will be better advised than to call your neglect, or connivance at a thing imagined so perilous, can attribute it to nothing more justly, than to the deep and quiet stream of your direct and calm deliberations, that gave not way either to the fervent rashness, or the immaterial gravity of those who ceased not to exasperate without cause. For which uprightness and incorrupt refusal of what ye were incensed to, lords and commons! (though it were done to justice, not to me, and was a peculiar demonstration how far your ways are different from the rash

* Todd's Account of the Life and Writings of Milton, prefixed to his edition of his Poetical Works, p. 55.

vulgar) besides those allegiances of oath and duty, which are my public debt to your public labors, I have yet a store of gratitude laid up, which cannot be exhausted; and such thanks perhaps they may live to be, as shall more than whisper to the next ages.' *

He proceeds to notice the attack of the presbyterian divine. In that part of his reply which relates to the charge of impudence for dedicating his book to the parliament, he gives an account of the occasion of writing the Tetrachordon, which is as follows.

'And whereas my other crime is, that I addressed the dedication of what I had studied, to the parliament; how could I better declare the loyalty which I owe to that supreme and majestic tribunal, and the opinion which I have of the high entrusted judgment, and personal worth assembled in that place? With the same affections therefore, and the same addicted fidelity, parliament of England! I here again have brought to your perusal on the same argument, these following expositions of scripture. The former book, as pleased some to think, who were thought judicious, had of reason in it to a sufficiency; what they required was, that the scriptures there alleged might be discussed more fully. To their desires, thus much further hath been labored in the scriptures. Another sort, also, who wanted more authorities, and citations, have not been here unthought of. If all this attain not to satisfy them, as I am confident that none of those our great controversies at this day hath had a more demonstrative explaining, I must confess to admire what it is; for doubtless

* Prose Works, vol. II. p. 112.

it is not reason nowadays that satisfies, or suborns the common credence of men, to yield so easily, and grow so vehement in matters much more disputable, and far less conducing to the daily good and peace of life.' *

The next object of Milton's castigation is Dr Featley,† who, in the Epistle Dedicatory to his 'Dippers Dipt,' had mentioned among 'the audacious attempts upon church and state, a tractate of divorce, in which the bonds of marriage are let loose to inordinate lust,' &c.

'Some,' says Milton, 'whose necessary shifts have long enured them to cloak the defects of their unstudied years, and hatred now to learn, under the appearance of a grave solidity, (which estimation they have gained among weak perceivers) find the ease of slighting what they cannot refute, and are determined, as I hear, to hold it not worth the answering. In which number I must be forced to reckon that doctor, who, in a late equivocating treatise plausibly set afloat against the Dippers, diving the while himself with a more deep prelatical malignance against the present state and church government, mentions with ignominy "the tractate of divorce;" yet answers nothing, but instead thereof, for which I do not commend his marshalling, sets Moses also among the crew of his Anabaptists; as one who to a holy nation, the commonwealth of Israel, gave laws "breaking the bonds of marriage to inordinate lust." These are no mean surges of blasphemy, not only dipping Moses, the divine lawgiver, but dashing with a high hand against the justice and purity of

* Prose Works, vol. II. p. 115 Todd, p. 53.

God himself; as these ensuing scriptures plainly and freely handled, shall verify to the launching of that old apostemated error. Him therefore I leave now to his repentance.

'Others, which is their courtesy, confess that wit and parts may do much to make that seem true which is not; (as was objected to Socrates by them who could not resist his efficacy, that he ever made the worst cause seem the better,) and thus thinking themselves discharged of the difficulty, love not to wade further into the fear of a convincement. These will be their excuses to decline the full examining of this serious point. So much the more I press it and repeat it, lords and commons! that ye beware while time is, ere this grand secret, and only art of ignorance affecting tyranny, grow powerful, and rule among us. For if sound argument and reason shall be thus put off, either by an undervaluing silence, or the masterly censure of a railing word or two in the pulpit, or by rejecting the force of truth, as the mere cunning of eloquence and sophistry; what can be the end of this, but that all good learning and knowledge will suddenly decay? Ignorance, and illiterate presumption, which is yet but our disease, will turn at length into our very constitution, and prove the hectic evil of this age.'*

The Colasterion was written in reply to 'An Answer to a Book, intituled, "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce;" or a Plea for Ladies and Gentlewomen, and all other Married Women, against Divorce. Wherein both Sexes are vindicated from all Bondage of Canon

* Prose Works, vol. II. p. 116, 117.

Law, and other Mistakes whatsoever; and the unsound Principles of the Author are examined and fully confuted by Authority of Holy Scripture, the Laws of this Land, and sound Reason. Lond. 1644.' This piece was licensed, with extraordinary commendations attached to the Imprimatur, by Mr Joseph Caryl, a presbyterian divine, and the author of a voluminous commentary upon Job. Milton, in his reply, gives both author and licenser a rough handling, asserting the one to be a 'serving man turned solicitor,' assisted by 'a stripling divine or two,' and charging the other with ignorance the most unpardonable. 'One thing more,' he says, 'I observed, a singular note of his stupidity, and that his [the author's] trade is not to meddle with books, much less with confutations; whenas the "Doctrine of Divorce," had now a whole year been published the second time, with many arguments added, and the former ones bettered and confirmed, this idle pamphlet comes reeling forth against the first edition only.'* He had before given a few words to what he terms 'a jolly slander, called "Divorce at Pleasure;"' but of the many attempts to throw ridicule upon his 'Doctrine,' I do not find that he has taken any particular notice. Of his three last publications on this subject, the reader will find no more in these volumes than the few extracts I have just made.

The treatment Milton received from the presbyterians, on account of these writings, is thought to have done much to alienate him from their cause. But what chiefly and finally resolved him to renounce their

* Ibid. p. 243.

interests, was their disposition to abridge that liberty of conscience which he prized above all liberties. His Areopagitica, the most powerful defence of the freedom of the press the world has ever seen, and which no prose composition it has been my lot to meet with, exceeds in eloquence, power, and splendor, failed of its purpose. The presbyterians, who were then in power, showed a fondness for restraining others, equal to their impatience when under the like restraint themselves. It is no wonder, then, that in his next prose tract, we find Milton's powerful genius exerted against the very men, for whom, but a few years before, he had battled with the bishops. This tract, in the first edition, published in February, 1648-9, bore the title of 'The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates; proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so through all Ages, for any, who have the Power, to call to Account a Tyrant, or wicked King, and, after due Conviction, to depose, and put him to Death; if the ordinary Magistrate have neglected, or denied to do it. And that they, who of late so much blame Deposing, are the Men that did it themselves.' In 1650, the author republished it with considerable additions, which are principally indicated by the following clause attached to the title given above; 'Published now the second time with some Additions, and many Testimonies also added out of the best and learnedest among Protestant Divines, asserting the Position of this Book.' These testimonies, which are those of Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Paræus, Knox, and others, I have omitted, as also the long array of examples from history,

which the reader will observe are referred to in the second of these volumes, p. 169. I have still retained about one half of the whole piece, including all that is valuable either as an exhibition of the author's principles or style. It was written to justify the execution of Charles against the objections of the presbyterians, who, it would seem, could at the same time bear arms against him, and hold his person to be sacred and inviolable. It was not published, however, till after the king's death, and then, rather for the purpose of composing the minds of the people, than to determine any thing in relation to Charles.*

His next prose publication in 1649, was 'Observations upon the Articles of Peace between James, Earl of Ormond, for King Charles the First on the one hand, and the Irish Rebels and Papists on the other hand; and on a Letter sent by Ormond to Colonel Jones, Governor of Dublin; and a Representation of the Scots Presbytery at Belfast in Ireland. To which the said Articles, Letter, with Colonel Jones's Answer to it, and Representation, &c., are prefixed.' It is a severe attack upon the royalists, and their new allies, the presbyterians, and there are passages in it which are perhaps in Milton's best controversial manner. But, as the documents prefixed occupy double the space with his observations upon them, and the passages alluded to are but little more than a repetition of sentiments expressed in his former writings, or anticipations of what

* 'Liber iste,' says Milton himself, 'non nisi post mortem regis prodiit, ad componendos potiùs hominum animos factus, quàm ad statuendum de Carolo quicquam, quod non mei, sed magistratuum intererat, et peractum jam tum erat.' Prose Works, vol. v. p. 235.

is given in those of a later date, I have thought it best to omit the whole piece.

After this, Milton returned once more to his private studies, and had completed four books of his History of England, when, to his surprise, he was appointed to the office of Latin secretary, by the council of state,* which had resolved to hold no communication with persons, abroad, except in a language common to both parties. He had not discharged its duties long before he was ordered to answer the 'ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ,' (Eikon Basilike, The King's Image,) a book which appeared immediately after the execution of Charles, under his majesty's own name, but written, in all probability, by Dr Gauden. Milton's answer was published in 1649, with the following title; 'ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ, [Eikonoclastes, the Image Breaker,] in Answer to a Book entitled, "ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, The Portraiture of his sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings."' Of this the reader will find in the present Selection about one

*'His rebus confectis, cùm jam abundè otii existimarem mihi futurum, ad historiam gentis, ab ultimâ origine repetitam, ad hæc usque tempora, si possem, perpetuo filo deducendam me converti. Quatuor jam libros absolveram, cùm ecce nihil tale cogitantem me, Caroli regno in rempublicam redacto, concilium statûs, quod dicitur, tum primùm auctoritate parlamenti constitutum, ad se vocat, meâque operâ ad res præsertim externas uti voluit.' Prose Works, vol. v. p. 235.

'Having finished these works, and thinking I should have abundance of leisure, I undertook a history of my country from its remotest origin, which I intended, if possible, to bring down in one unbroken thread to these times. I had completed four books, when, behold, the kingdom of Charles being reduced to a republic, the council of state, so called, then first constituted by authority of parliament, without the least expectation of such an event on my part, called for my service intending to use them more particularly for foreign affairs.

third, embracing every thing relating to general principles, and excluding most of what is mere historical detail, though some even of this is retained, either as a specimen of Milton's manner of narration, or because the facts are particularly interesting, or set in new points of view by the author. I follow his enlarged edition of 1650.

The Eikonoclastes had scarcely been published, when Milton was called to a contest with a very different adversary. This was Claudius Salmasius, an honorary professor at Leyden, and the most renowned scholar of the age. His unrivalled reputation pointed him out to Charles, the son of the late king, as the ablest champion he could engage to defend the cause of royalty against the regicides. His application, accompanied with a hundred Jacobuses, was too flattering to the vanity of Salmasius to be resisted, and, in an evil hour for his happiness and his fame, he consented, though at the price of his consistency,* to become the defender, not of kingship merely, but of despotism, of

* 'Claudius Sarravius, counsellor in the parliament of Paris, and an intimate friend of Salmasius, in a letter to him dated at Paris, Feb. 18, 1650, expresses his surprise, that he should write in his preface to his Defensio, with so much zeal in defence of the bishops of England, when he had in another work of his, "De Presbyteris et Episcopis," printed at Leyden, in 1641, in 8vo. under the fictitious name of Wallo Messallinus, attacked them with the utmost acrimony; which he observes might expose him to the imputation of a time-server, who paid no regard to truth itself. "Hoc sanè dicent esse τῇ περὶ δουλείαν potiùs quàm τῇ ἀληθείᾳ στίθεσθαι."' Dr Birch, Account of the Life and Writings of Mr John Milton, p. xxxiv. To establish the charge of inconsistency to the full extent in which it is made against him in the text, it may be stated that Salmasius was a this time the pensioner of a republic.

prelacy, and of Charles. The result of his engagement was a work published before the end of 1649, entitled, 'Defensio Regia pro Carolo Primo ad Carolum Secundum.'—'A Royal Defence for Charles the First to Charles the Second.' The pains he was known to bestow upon this performance, raised great expectations; and although it disappointed his friends and the world, the name of Salmasius was too imposing to allow it to pass without notice from the government of England. The council of state, therefore, unanimously assigned to Milton, who was himself present at the sitting at which the subject was debated, the task of writing a reply. Although his eyesight was already beginning to fail, he undertook it with alacrity, and persevered, against the remonstrances of his physicians, who warned him that total blindness would be the consequence, and completed and published his answer early in 1651. He entitled his performance, 'Defensio pro Populo Anglicano contra Claudii Salmasii Defensionem Regiam.'—'A Defence of the People of England in Answer to Claudius Salmasius's Defence of the King.'

'To speak of this composition in terms of too high praise,' says Dr Symmons, 'would be difficult for its greatest admirers. If, happily, it had been a little less embittered with personal invective, and had withdrawn the two immediate combatants to a greater distance from our sight; if it had excluded every light and sportive sally from its pages, it would have approached very nearly to perfection, and would have formed one of the most able and satisfactory, the most eloquent

and splendid defences of truth and liberty against sophistry and despotism, which has ever been exhibited to the world. Its diction, pure, spirited, and harmonious, is the adequate organ of strong argument, manly sentiment, comprehensive erudition, excursive fancy, and profound wisdom. By the laws of God, either written in our hearts, or made the subjects of immediate revelation; by the testimony of all history, sacred and profane, the "Defence of the People of England" ascertains that political power properly emanates from the people, for whose good it must be exercised, and for whose good it may rightfully be resumed. On the narrowed question and with reference to the point more immediately at issue, the Defence strenuously asserts the ancient genealogy of English freedom, and traces it from its British origin, through its Saxon and Norman lineage, to the times in which Charles suffered, and the commonwealth of England was established. During this whole period, the Defence proves that the existence of the ultimate sovereignty of the people was ascertained either by the electing or the deposing of the monarch, or by its acknowledgement in the compacts of the more potent possessors of the throne: from the Saxon times is demonstrated the existence of a supreme legislative assembly, including the representatives of the commons, by which the conduct of the executive was controlled, and to which the chief magistrate was at all times responsible.'*

The license and gross personalities here alluded to, lose much of their offensiveness in the original Latin,

* Life of Milton, p. 311.

and had Milton written his Defence in his native tongue, we may reasonably believe it would have been more supportable in these respects than it now is in a translation. But these were but trivial objections in the age for which it was written, and its success was complete. On its first appearance, Milton was complimented and visited by all the ambassadors in London, not excepting those from princes. Little known before beyond the limits of his own country, his fame immediately spread throughout the world. 'All Europe rang from side to side.' Letters of praise and gratulation poured in upon the author from the gifted and the learned of every nation. The book itself was soon more than once translated, and had the honor of being burnt by the common hangman at Thoulouse and at Paris, which increased its celebrity, and the desire to possess it. It accordingly was repeatedly printed, while the work of Salmasius, also translated, into French, with difficulty supported a very languid circulation.

Whether the life of Salmasius was shortened in consequence of his defeat, I am not anxious to determine, though it is generally asserted by Milton's biographers. Be that as it may, in September, 1651, he retired from the court of Christina of Sweden, who had treated him with coolness since the publication of Milton's Defence, and died about a year afterwards at Spa in Germany, where he had prepared a most malignant reply to his adversary, which was not published, however, till the restoration in 1660.*

* It was printed at London, with the following title: 'Claudii Salmasii ad Joannem Miltonum Responsio, Opus Posthumum.'—'The

But the earliest answer to the Defence, erroneously attributed by Milton to bishop Bramhall, but written, as Mr Todd appears to have demonstrated, by John Rowland, a minister of the establishment, was published in 1651, bearing the following barbarous title: 'Apologia pro Rege et Populo Anglicano contra Johannis Polypragmatici (alias Miltoni Angli) Defensionem destructivam Regis et Populi Anglicani.' It is hazardous to attempt a version of this title, but it may be rendered, 'An Apology for the King and People of England, in Answer to a pernicious Defence of the King and People of England, by John Busybody, alias Milton, an Englishman.' It was a contemptible performance, and Milton assigned the task of replying to it to the younger of his nephews, then not twenty years old. This reply, however, was composed so immediately under Milton's inspection, received from his

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Reply of Claudius Salmasius to John Milton, a Posthumous Work.' The dedication to Charles the Second by his son Claudius, is dated at Dijon, September 1, 1660. 'This book,' says Dr Birch, 'is written with an unexampled virulence. He treats Milton as an ordinary schoolmaster: "Qui Ludimagister in scholâ triviali Londonensi fuit;" and charges him with divorcing his wife after a year's marriage, for reasons best known to himself, and defending the lawfulness of divorce for any causes whatsoever. He styles him "impura bellua, quæ nihil hominis sibi reliqui fecit præter lippientes oculos;" and charges him with some false quantities in his Latin juvenile poems; and throughout the whole book gives him the titles of bellua, fanaticus latro, homunculus, lippulus, cæculus, homo perditissimus, nebulo, impurus, scelestus audax et nefarius alastor, infandus impostor, &c. and declares, that he would have him tortured with burning pitch or scalding oil till he expired: "Pro cæteris autem tuis factis dictisque dignum dicam videri, qui pice ardenti, vel oleo fervente, perfundaris, usque dum animam effles nocentem et carnifici jam pridem debitam."'

own hand so many emendations before it went to the press, and exhibits throughout such deep impressions of Milton's power, that it has always been considered his own, and printed among his works as such, although it bears his nephew's name. It was published in 1652, under this title: 'Joannis Philippi Angli Responsio ad Apologiam anonymi cujusdam Tenebrionis pro Rege et Populo Anglicano infantissimam.'—'The Reply of John Philips, an Englishman, to a most childish Apology, written by some anonymous Night Walker, for the King and People of England.'

In this year also, 1652, was printed at the Hague, a book called 'Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cœlum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos;'—'The Cry of the Royal Blood to Heaven against the English Parricides.' Against this, Milton, now blind, employed his own formidable pen, and in 1654, by command, published a reply, which he entitled, 'Joannis Miltoni Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda. Contra infamum Libellum anonymum, cui Titulus, Regii Sanguinis Clamor, etc.'—'A Second Defence of the People of England, by John Milton, an Englishman. In answer to an infamous anonymous Libel, entitled, The Cry of the Royal Blood, &c.' In this, which, if not the most powerful, is the most interesting of all his Latin prose works, Milton has again mistaken his antagonist. Alexander Morus or More, whom he treats as the author of the 'Regii Sanguinis Clamor,' was in fact only its editor. The true author was Peter du Moulin the younger, afterwards prebendary of Canterbury, who sent his manuscripts to Salmasius, by whom they were

committed to More for publication. More wrote a dedication of the work to Charles the Second, in the name of Adrian Ulac, the printer, and gave it to the world as above stated.

Milton's character was assailed in Du Moulin's book with the most profligate abuse. For this, More is in the Second Defence treated by turns with unparalleled severity, and irresistible ridicule. But when Milton was informed that Du Moulin, not More, was the real offender, he is reported to have said, 'Well! that was all one; he having writ it, [the Defensio Secunda,] it should go into the world; one of them was as bad as the other.' Adrian Ulac reprinted it at the Hague, and More soon after appeared with an answer, entitled, 'Alexandri Mori, Ecclesiastæ et Sacrarum Literarum Professoris, Fides Publica, contra Calumnias Joannis Miltoni.'*—'The Public Attestation of Alexander More, Ecclesiastic and Professor of Sacred Literature, against the Calumnies of John Milton.' This work abounds with testimonies of the orthodoxy and good morals of its author, signed by magistrates and others, but could not make good his cause against Milton, who, in 1655, published a reply, with new and well authenticated allegations against him, under the title of 'Authoris pro se Defensio contra Alexandrum Morum, Ecclesiasten, Libelli famosi, cui titulus, "Regii Sanguinis Clamor, etc." Authorem rectè dictum.' —'The Author's Defence of himself against Alexander More, Ecclesiastic, Author of the famous Libel, entitled "The Cry of the Royal Blood, &c."' To this More

* Hague, 1654.

again answered, to be again refuted by Milton in what he called 'Authoris ad Alexandri Mori Supplementum Responsio:'—'The Author's Reply to the Supplement of Alexander More,' which closed the controversy.

As Latin secretary, Milton, in 1655, wrote for Cromwell, who had resolved upon war with Spain, 'Scriptum Domini Protectoris Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, etc. ex Consensu atque Sententiâ Consilii sui editum; in quo hujus Reipublicæ Causa contra Hispanos justa esse demonstratur.'—'A Manifesto of the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c. published by Advice and Consent of his Council; wherein the Cause of this Republic against the Spaniards, is shown to be just.'

He was now at leisure from public controversies, and again devoted himself to what he considered his three great tasks; a history of his country, a Latin thesaurus, and an epic poem. Except his official papers, we have no prose work of his written after that last mentioned, till 1659. But in 1658 he printed, from a manuscript of Sir Walter Raleigh's, 'The Cabinet Council, &c.,' with a short advertisement of his own. In 1659, he published in his native language, first, 'A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes, showing that it is not Lawful for any Power on Earth to compel in Matters of Religion;' and soon after, 'Considerations touching the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church. Wherein is also discoursed of Tithes, Church Fees, and Church Revenues; and whether any Maintenance of Ministers can

be settled by Law.' In consequence of Milton's employment at the protector's court, some of his republican friends had doubted the stability of his attachment to their principles. The first of these tracts, as we learn from a letter written to Milton soon after its publication by Mr John Wall, of Causham, restored their confidence. 'I confess,' says that gentleman, 'I have, even in my privacy in the country, oft had thoughts of you, and that with much respect, for your friendliness to truth in your early years, and in bad times. But I was uncertain whether your relation to the court, though I think a commonwealth was more friendly to you than a court, had not clouded your former light; but your last book resolved that doubt. You complain of the non-proficiency of the nation, and of its retrograde motion of late, in liberty and spiritual truths. It is much to be bewailed; but yet let us pity human frailty. When those who made deep protestations of their zeal for our liberty both spiritual and civil, and made the fairest offers to be assertors thereof, and whom we thereupon trusted; when those, being instated in power, shall betray the good thing committed to them, and lead us back to Egypt, and by that force, which we gave them to win us liberty, hold us fast in chains; what can poor people do? You know who they were, that watched our Saviour's sepulchre to keep him from rising.'*

The two pieces last mentioned are each preceded by a dedication 'To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, and the Dominions thereof,' which I have omitted. I have retained, however, more than one half

*Alluding to a standing army. See Prose Works, vol. II. p. 338.

of the tracts themselves, including all that is valuable, either for the principles unfolded, or for exhibiting the peculiarities of Milton. The parts omitted are almost all of them citations and explanations of passages of scripture.

In the confusions of 1659, the friends of 'the good old cause' of republicanism, were animated with new hopes of success. Oliver was dead, Richard obliged to resign the protectorship, and the parliament dissolved by the army. The republican writers were at once busily employed, trusting that upon the clearing up of the present storm, the goodly 'ship of the commonwealth' might be fast anchored in safety. At such a moment we may be sure Milton was not inactive. In October, immediately upon the dissolution of the parliament, he wrote a short 'Letter to a Friend, concerning the Ruptures of the Commonwealth,' in which, after boldly reproaching the army for their unjustifiable attack upon the supreme power of the nation, he proposed as the remedy he thought likeliest to save his country from approaching ruin, the model of a commonwealth, not perhaps such as he himself most approved, but such as might at the time be most readily adopted. He also wrote 'The present Means and brief Delineation of a Free Commonwealth, easy to be put in Practice, and without Delay. In a Letter to General Monk.' It is nearly to the same purpose with the piece last mentioned. The two letters together occupy only six octavo pages; but, as the author's views are more fully and distinctly unfolded in his next tract, they are both omitted in this Selection.

This next tract was written but just before the king's return, and published in February, 1659–60, under the following title: 'The ready and easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth, and the Excellence thereof, compared with the Inconveniences and Dangers of re-admitting Kingship in this Nation.' For the time at which it appeared, it was a bold undertaking, and is written as if its author were indeed fearful that he was publishing 'the last words of expiring liberty.' Whatever may be its value as a political tract, now that the theory of government is so much better understood than it was in Milton's day, it is of the first order as a composition, and I have therefore retained it entire.

But The Ready and Easy Way was not the last of Milton's publications written to prevent what he thought would be the greatest of evils to his country, the restoration of monarchy; for when Matthew Griffeth, D. D. a chaplain to the late king, published, under the title of 'The fear of God and the King,' the sermon he preached at Mercer's Chapel, in March, 1660, he immediately appeared with 'Brief Notes' upon it, 'wherein many [of the Doctor's] notorious Wrestings of Scripture, and other Falsities, are observed.' I have not thought them worth retaining in these volumes, to the exclusion of other matter.

As the king's return at length appeared certain, Milton left the house he had occupied as Latin secretary, and in which, for eight years, his great reputation had procured him the visits of distinguished persons of his own and other countries. Indeed, many foreigners had visited England, 'chiefly,' says Aubrey, 'to see

Oliver Cromwell, lord protector, and Mr John Milton.' But he had acted too conspicuous a part against the royal cause to be safe under the restored monarch. He was therefore secreted by his friends for about four months, till the act of oblivion put an end to his danger. How it happened that so capital an offender was suffered to escape the royal vengeance, is a problem his biographers find it difficult to solve. But the most probable account is, that the king having bound himself, by his declaration from Breda, to pardon all but such as the parliament should except, Milton was indebted to the interest of his friends in the House, and especially to Sir William Davenant, whom he had himself saved when in similar danger in 1651. In December, 1660, however, we find him in the custody of the house of commons, most probably in virtue of an act of parliament passed in June, which the act of oblivion of the following August had superseded. But the blow from which the author was defended, fell impotently upon his books. His two most offensive political works, the Eikonoclastes, and the Defence of the People of England, were by order of parliament burnt by the common hangman, August 27th, 1660. Thus ends the history of his public controversies. Yet not long after, he is said to have been offered the Latin secretaryship under Charles. His wife, the third he married, urged him to accept it. 'Thou art in the right,' said Milton; 'you, as other women, would ride in your coach; for me, my aim is to live and die an honest man.' He magnanimously refused the employment.

On his retirement, he again gave himself up to study, and the three great tasks I have already mentioned. But in 1661, his desire to improve the modes of education in use, led him to compose and publish 'Accedence commenced Grammar, supplied with sufficient Rules for the use of such as, Younger or Elder, are desirous, without more Trouble than needs, to attain the Latin Tongue; the Elder sort especially, with little Teaching and their own Industry.' It had been generally complained, 'that the tenth part of man's life, ordinarily extended, is taken up in learning, and that very scarcely, the Latin tongue.' By this little work, it was his design to shorten that period, and it would prove, if it were not evinced in a thousand other ways, that with all his genius, he was not destitute of that condescending humility, which regards no employment by which good may be effected as mean or undignified.

In this year, 1661, he published another tract of Sir Walter Raleigh's, called 'Aphorisms of State.' But he published no more prose works of his own till 1670, when appeared his 'History of Britain; that Part of it especially now called England; from the First traditional Beginning, continued to the Norman Conquest. Collected out of the ancientest and best Authors thereof.' Some see in the execution of this work every thing to commend; others, nothing. It has been regarded by different critics as the best and the worst specimen of Milton's prose. Dr Johnson says 'the style is harsh; but it has something of rough vigor, which may perhaps often strike, though it cannot please.' In this instance, as unjust as he is to Milton's

style, he is decidedly less so than usual. But why the History should comprise the whole of Geoffrey of Monmouth, universally rejected, his malignity found it difficult to conjecture; which is not the only circumstance that makes me suspect the Doctor never attentively read the works he so malevolently criticises. Milton has himself assigned a reason in the following words: 'Seeing that ofttimes relations heretofore accounted fabulous, have been after found to contain in them many footsteps and relics of something true, as what we read in poets of the flood, and giants little believed, till undoubted witnesses taught us, that all was not feigned; I have therefore determined to bestow the telling over even of these reputed tales; be it for nothing else but in favor of our English poets and rhetoricians, who by their art will know how to use them judiciously.'*

I could make many noble extracts from this work, but shall content myself with two. The first I give the rather because of the following remarks upon it by bishop Warburton. 'It [the History] is written,' he says, 'with great simplicity, contrary to his custom in his prose works; and is the better for it. But he sometimes rises to a surprising grandeur in the sentiment and expression, as at the conclusion of the second book, "Henceforth we are to steer," &c. I never saw any thing equal to this, but the conclusion of Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World.' To enable the reader better to understand the passage, I shall transcribe a sentence or two preceding.

* History of England, Prose Works, vol. IV. p. 2.

'Thus expired this great empire of the Romans; first in Britain, soon after in Italy itself; having borne chief sway in this island, though never thoroughly subdued, or all at once in subjection, if we reckon from the coming in of Julius to the taking of Rome by Alaric, in which year Honorius wrote those letters of discharge into Britain, the space of 462 years. And with the empire fell also what before in this western world was chiefly Roman; learning, valor, eloquence, history, civility, and even language itself, all these together, as it were, with equal pace, diminishing and decaying. Henceforth we are to steer by another sort of authors; near enough to the things they write, as in their own country, if that would serve; in time not much belated, some of equal age; in expression barbarous, and to say how judicious, I suspend a while. This we must expect; in civil matters to find them dubious relaters, and still to the best advantage of what they term holy church, meaning indeed themselves: in most other matters of religion, blind, astonished, and struck with superstition as with a planet; in one word, monks. Yet these guides, where can be had no better, must be followed; in gross, it may be true enough; in circumstances each man, as his judgment gives him, may reserve his faith, or bestow it. But so different a state of things requires a several relation.' *

The next extract immediately follows the last, and makes the introduction to the third book. It includes a passage, which was expunged from the first edition of

* Prose Works, vol. IV. p. 79.

the work by the licenser, presented to the earl of Anglesea in manuscript, published separately in 1681, and restored to its place in the folio edition of Milton's prose works in 1738. It is on these accounts curious. Besides, it shows how Milton, when his republican hopes were disappointed, could characterize the same parliament on which he had in former days bestowed the eloquent eulogiums found in various parts of this Selection. It is moreover a good example of his historical style. The part suppressed by the licenser, is included in brackets. It might be called 'A Character of the Long Parliament and the Westminster Assembly of Divines.

'This third book having to tell of accidents as various and exemplary as the intermission or change of government hath any where brought forth, may deserve attention more than common, and repay it with like benefit to them who can judiciously read; considering especially that the late civil broils had cast us into a condition not much unlike to what the Britons then were in when the imperial jurisdiction departing hence left them to the sway of their own councils; which times by comparing seriously with these latter, and that confused anarchy with this interreign, we may be able from two such remarkable turns of state, producing like events among us, to raise a knowledge of ourselves both great and weighty, by judging hence what kind of men the Britons generally are in matters of so high enterprise; how by nature, industry, or custom, fitted to attempt or undergo matters of so main consequence. For if it be a high point of wisdom in

every private man, much more is it in a nation to know itself; rather than puffed up with vulgar flatteries and encomiums, for want of self-knowledge, to enterprise rashly and come off miserably in great undertakings.

['Of these who swayed most in the late troubles, few words as to this point may suffice. They had arms, leaders, and successes to their wish; but to make use of so great an advantage was not their skill.

['To other causes therefore, and not to the want of force, or warlike manhood in the Britons, both those and these lately, we must impute the ill husbanding of those fair opportunities, which might seem to have put liberty so long desired, like a bridle into their hands; of which other causes equally belonging to ruler, priest, and people, above hath been related; which, as they brought those ancient natives to misery and ruin, by liberty, which, rightly used, might have made them happy; so brought they these of late, after many labors, much bloodshed, and vast expense, to ridiculous frustration; in whom the like defects, the like miscarriages notoriously appeared, with vices not less hateful or inexcusable.

['For a parliament being called, to address many things, as it was thought, the people with great courage and expectation to be eased of what discontented them, chose to their behoof in parliament, such as they thought best affected to the public good, and some indeed men of wisdom and integrity; the rest, to be sure the greater part, whom wealth or ample possessions, or bold and active ambition, rather than merit, had commended to the same place.

['But when once the superficial zeal and popular fumes that acted their new magistracy were cooled, and spent in them, straight every one betook himself, setting the commonwealth behind, his private ends before, to do as his own profit or ambition led him. Then was justice delayed, and soon after denied. Spight and favor determined all; hence faction, thence treachery, both at home and in the field; every where wrong and oppression; foul and horrid deeds committed daily, or maintained, in secret, or in open. Some who had been called from shops and warehouses, without other merit, to sit in supreme councils and committees, as their breeding was, fell to huckster the commonwealth. Others did thereafter as men could soothe and humor them best; so he who would give most, or, under covert of hypocritical zeal, insinuate basest, enjoyed unworthily the rewards of learning and fidelity, or escaped the punishment of his crimes and misdeeds. Their votes and ordinances, which men looked should have contained the repealing of bad laws, and the immediate constitution of better, resounded with nothing else, but new impositions, taxes, excises; yearly, monthly, weekly; not to reckon the offices, gifts, and preferments bestowed and shared among themselves. They, in the mean while, who were ever faithfullest to this cause, and freely aided them in person, or with their substance, when they durst not compel either, slighted and bereaved after of their just debts by greedy sequestrations, were tossed up and down after miserable attendance from one committee to another with petitions in their hands, yet

either missed the obtaining of their suit, or though it were at length granted, mere shame and reason oft-times extorting from them at least a show of justice, yet by their sequestrators and subcommittees abroad, men for the most part of insatiable hands and noted disloyalty, those orders were commonly disobeyed; which for certain durst not have been, without secret compliance, if not compact with some superiors able to bear them out. Thus were their friends confiscate in their enemies, while they forfeited their debtors to the state, as they called it, but indeed to the ravening seizure of innumerable thieves in office; yet were withal no less burdened in all extraordinary assessments and oppressions, than those whom they took to be disaffected; nor were we happier creditors to what we called the state, than to them who were sequestered as the state's enemies.

['For that faith which ought to have been kept as sacred and inviolable as any thing holy, "the Public Faith," after infinite sums received, and all the wealth of the church not better employed, but swallowed up into a private gulf, was not ere long ashamed to confess bankrupt. And now besides the sweetness of of bribery, and other gain, with the love of rule, their own guiltiness and the dreaded name of Just Account, which the people had long called for, discovered plainly that there were of their own number, who secretly contrived and fomented those troubles and combustions in the land, which openly they sat to remedy; and would continually find such work, as should keep them from being ever brought to that terrible stand of

laying down their authority for lack of new business, or not drawing it out to any length of time, though upon the ruin of a whole nation.

['And if the state were in this plight, religion was not in much better; to reform which, a certain number of divines were called, neither chosen by any rule or custom ecclesiastical, nor eminent for either piety or knowledge above others left out; only as each member of parliament in his private fancy thought fit, so elected one by one. The most part of them were such as had preached and cried down, with great show of zeal, the avarice and pluralities of bishops and prelates; that one cure of souls was a full employment for one spiritual pastor, how able soever, if not a charge rather above human strength. Yet these conscientious men, ere any part of the work done for which they came together, and that on the public salary, wanted not boldness, to the ignominy and scandal of their pastorlike profession, and especially of their boasted reformation, to seize into their hands, or not unwillingly to accept, besides one (sometimes two or more of the best livings), collegiate masterships in the universities, rich lectures in the city, setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms; by which means these great rebukers of nonresidence, among so many distant cures, were not ashamed to be seen so quickly pluralists and nonresidents themselves, to a fearful condemnation doubtless by their own mouths. And yet the main doctrine for which they took such pay, and insisted upon with more vehemence than gospel, was but to tell us in effect, that their doc-

trine was worth nothing, and the spiritual power of their ministry less available than bodily compulsion; persuading the magistrate to use it, as a stronger means to subdue and bring in conscience, than evangelical persuasion; distrusting the virtue of their own spiritual weapons, which were given them, if they be rightly called, with full warrant of sufficiency to pull down all thoughts and imaginations that exalt themselves against God. But while they taught compulsion without convincement, which not long before they complained of as executed unchristianly, against themselves, these intents are clear to have been no better than antichristian; setting up a spiritual tyranny by a secular power, to the advancing of their own authority above the magistrate, whom they would have made their executioner, to punish church delinquencies, whereof civil laws have no cognizance.

['And well did their disciples manifest themselves to be no better principled than their teachers, trusted with committeeships and other gainful offices, upon their commendations for zealous, and, as they sticked not to term them, godly men, but executing their places like children of the devil, unfaithfully, unjustly, unmercifully, and where not corruptly, stupidly. So that between them the teachers, and these the disciples, there hath not been a more ignominious and mortal wound to faith, to piety, to the work of reformation, nor more cause of blaspheming given to the enemies of God and truth, since the first preaching of reformation.

['The people, therefore, looking one while on the statists, whom they beheld without constancy or firmness,

laboring doubtfully beneath the weight of their own too high undertakings, busiest in petty things, trifling in the main, deluded and quite alienated, expressed divers ways their disaffection; some despising whom before they honored, some deserting, some inveighing, some conspiring against them. Then looking on the churchmen, whom they saw under subtle hypocrisy to have preached their own follies, most of them not the gospel, timeservers, covetous, illiterate persecutors, not lovers of the truth, like in most things whereof they accused their predecessors; looking on all this, the people, which had been kept warm a while with the counterfeit zeal of their pulpits, after a false heat, became more cold and obdurate than before, some turning to lewdness, some to flat atheism, put beside their old religion, and foully scandalized in what they expected should be new.

['Thus they who of late were extolled as our greatest deliverers, and had the people wholly at their devotion, by so discharging their trust as we see, did not only weaken and unfit themselves to be dispensers of what liberty they pretended, but unfitted also the people, now grown worse and more disordinate, to receive or to digest any liberty at all. For stories teach us, that liberty sought out of season, in a corrupt and degenerate age, brought Rome itself to a farther slavery. For liberty hath a sharp and double edge, fit only to be handled by just and virtuous men; to bad and dissolute, it becomes a mischief unwieldly in their own hands. Neither is it completely given, but by them who have the happy skill to know what is grievance

and unjust to a people, and how to remove it wisely; what good laws are wanting, and how to frame them substantially, that good men may enjoy the freedom which they merit, and the bad the curb which they need. But to do this, and to know these exquisite proportions, the herioc wisdom which is required, surmounted far the principles of these narrow politicians. What wonder then if they sunk, as these unfortunate Britons before them, entangled and oppressed with things too hard and generous above their strain and temper? For Britain, to speak a truth not often spoken, as it is a land fruitful enough of men stout and courageous in war, so it is naturally not over-fertile of men able to govern justly and prudently in peace, trusting only in their motherwit; who consider not justly, that civility, prudence, love of the public good, more than of money or vain honor, are to this soil in a manner outlandish; grow not here, but in minds well implanted with solid and elaborate breeding; too impolitic else and rule, if not headstrong and intractable to the industry and virtue either of executing or understanding true civil government; valiant indeed, and prosperous to win a field; but to know the end and reason of winning, unjudicious, and unwise; in good or bad success, alike unteachable. For the sun, which we want, ripens wits as well as fruits; and as wine and oil are imported to us from abroad, so must ripe understanding, and many civil virtues, be imported into our minds from foreign writings, and examples of best ages; we shall else miscarry still, and come short in the attempts of any great enterprise. Hence

did their victories prove as fruitless, as their losses dangerous; and left them still conquering under the same grievances that men suffer conquered; which was indeed unlikely to go otherwise, unless men more than vulgar bred up, as few of them were, in the knowledge of ancient and illustrious deeds, invincible against many and vain titles, impartial to friendships and relations, had conducted their affairs; but then from the chapman to the retailer, many whose ignorance was more audacious than the rest, were admitted with all their sordid rudiments to bear no mean sway among them, both in church and state.

['From the confluence of all their errors, mischiefs, and misdemeanours, what in the eyes of man could be expected, but what befel those ancient inhabitants, whom they so much resembled, confusion in the end?

['But on these things, and this parallel, having enough insisted, I return to the story, which gave us matter of this digression.]

'The Britons thus, as we heard, being left without protection from the empire, and the land in a manner emptied of all her youth, consumed in wars abroad, or not caring to return home, themselves, through long subjection, servile in mind, slothful of body, and with the use of arms unacquainted, sustained but ill for many years the violence of those barbarous invaders, who now daily grew upon them. For although at first greedy of change, and to be thought the leading nation to freedom from the empire, they seemed awhile to bestir them with a show of diligence in their new affairs, some secretly aspiring to rule, others adoring

the name of Liberty, yet so soon as they felt by proof the weight of what it was to govern well themselves, and what was wanting within them, not stomach or the love of license, but the wisdom, the virtue, the labor, to use and maintain true liberty, they soon remitted their heat, and shrunk more wretchedly under the burden of their own liberty, than before under a foreign yoke.' *

In 1672, Milton's interest in the youth of his country, induced him to give to the world, 'Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio, ad Petri Rami Methodum cincinnata.' —'An enlarged Scheme of Logic, digested on the Plan of Peter Ramus;' to which was added, 'Petri Rami Vita ex Joanne Thomâ Freigio, recisis Digressionibus, descripta.'—'The Life of Peter Ramus, taken, without his Digressions, from the work of John Thomas Fregius.' A second edition appeared in the following year. Johnson, as usual, has his sneer at this work, as if Milton had no higher motive for its composition, than hostility against the Universities, because, forsooth, Ramus was one of the first opposers of the old philosophy. But it has been said again and again, that Johnson was incapable of doing justice to Milton.

The Scheme of Logic was followed in 1673, by an admirable tract entitled, 'Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and what best Means may be used against the Growth of Popery.' It is given entire in this Selection, and shows that the orthodoxy of Milton's earlier days had given place to views technically called heretical.

* Prose Works, vol. IV. p. 81.

In 1674, the last year of his laborious and honorable life, our author published his 'Epistolarum Familiarum Liber Unus;' and 'Prolusiones quædam Oratoriæ, in Collegio Christi habitæ,'—'One Book of Familiar Letters,' and 'Some of his Oratorical Exercises at Christ's College.' The letters are extremely interesting, and have been translated by Mr Fellowes. The Exercises are honorable to his early years, and bespeak a mind of great power and promise. The last work upon which he is said to have employed his pen, was, 'A Declaration, or Letters Patents for the Election of this present King of Poland, John the Third, elected on the 22d of May last past, Anno Domini 1674. Containing the Reasons of this election, the great Virtues and Merits of the said Serene Elect, his eminent Services in War, especially in his last great Victory against the Turks and Tartars, whereof many Particulars are here related, not published before. Now faithfully translated from the Latin Copy.' This is ascribed to Milton by all his biographers except Dr Symmons, who, for reasons of some force, doubts its genuineness.

At the instance of the Danish resident at London, Milton had his State Letters transcribed; but they were not published till 1676. They were translated into English in 1694, and are regarded as admirable models for writings of the kind. Milton also wrote 'A Brief History of Muscovia, and of other less known Countries, lying Eastward of Russia, as far as Cathay. Gathered from the Writings of several Eyewitnesses.' It was published in 1682, eight years after his death.

I have now given an account, which I am aware is

after all but little more than a barren catalogue, of all Milton's writings contained in the six octavo volumes of his prose works. I have also presented the reader with one of his familiar letters not to be found in those volumes. I shall next notice one or two other works ascribed to Milton, and hasten to an end.

Besides the publications already enumerated, Mr Todd, the learned editor of Milton's poetical works, notices 'An Argument or Debate in Law, of the great Question concerning the Militia; as it is now settled by Ordinance of both the Houses of Parliament. By J. M. London, 1642. On the titlepage of this pamphlet, which, at the time Mr Todd wrote, was in the possession of the Marquis of Stafford, Milton's name is written, as the author, by the second earl of Bridgewater, who had acted the Elder Brother in Comus. There is other evidence to the same point, which it is unimportant to mention. Philips speaks of 'An Answer to a Libel on Himself,' which he supposes Milton suppressed, from a proper contempt of the libeller. And his biographers concur in noticing, as lost, a manuscript 'System of Theology,' under the title, according to Wood, of 'Idea Theologiæ,' of which the last they knew was, that Cyriack Skinner, to whom two of Milton's sonnets are addressed, had it in his possession. This work, as the whole world knows, was, in 1823, discovered by Mr Lemon, while searching in the old state paper office, Whitehall. 'It was found,' says Mr. Sumner, who has translated it from the original Latin into English, 'in one of the presses, loosely wrapped in two or three sheets of

printed paper, with a large number of original letters, informations, examinations, and other curious records ralative to the Popish plots of 1677 and 1678, and to the Rye House plot of 1683. The same parcel likewise contained a complete and corrected copy of all the Latin letters to foreign princes and states written by Milton while he officiated as Latin Secretary; and the whole was inclosed in an envelope superscribed, 'To Mr. Skinner, Merch^{t}.' Of the authenticity of this work there can be no doubt. The title of it is as follows: 'Joannis Miltoni Angli de Doctrinâ Christianâ, ex Sacris duntaxat Libris petitâ, Disquisitionum Libri Duo Posthumi;' which the translator has thus rendered; 'A Posthumous Treatise on the Christian Doctrine, compiled from the Holy Scriptures alone. In two Books. By John Milton, [an Englishman].'

Milton's Latin thesaurus on the plan of that of Stephens, repeatedly mentioned above, was never completed. His manuscript materials for the work filled three large folio volumes. They were left in too great disorder for publication, but are said to have been profitably employed by the editors of the Cambridge dictionary, and to have supplied a very great part or the whole of Philips's 'Enchiridion Linguæ Latinæ,' and 'Speculum Linguæ Latinæ,' published in 1684.

In 1675, Edward Philips, Milton's nephew, published 'Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum, or a complete Collection of the Poets, especially the most eminent, &c.' In this work, Philips appears to have been deeply indebted to Milton, who, it is said, composed

almost entirely the criticisms it contains upon Shakspeare and Marlow.*

Such, then, are the prose works of John Milton. Of those written in English, by far the greater number are contained in the volumes I now present to the public. Of his controversy with the bishops of the English church, his 'Animadversions' alone is abridged, and that would have been given entire were the parts of it omitted of any value. But so far from that, they are of a character to make every admirer of Milton regret that he ever wrote them. The same may be said of his Colasterion, from which I have selected only the short passages contained in this Preface. The reasons which have induced me to abridge other pieces of his, have been stated or intimated above.

As his Defence of the People of England is unquestionably his most celebrated prose composition, it may by some be regretted that I have made this Selection from his English works alone. But my object has been to make the English reader better acquainted than he now is, with Milton's own prose, not the prose of Mr Washington, Mr Bennett, or of any other translator. No translation, by another hand, let it be executed as it may, can do full justice to the original com-

* Of Milton's 'wonder-working academy,' as Johnson sneeringly calls it, the 'only genuine product, I believe,' says this candid writer, 'is a small history of poetry, *written in Latin*, by his nephew, Philips, of which perhaps none of my readers have ever heard.'—'We may be sure,' says the European Magazine, as quoted by an annotator on Johnson's Life of Milton, whose signature is R. 'at least, that Dr Johnson had never seen the book he speaks of; for it is entirely composed in English, though its title begins with two Latin words,—a circumstance that probably misled the biographer of Milton.'

poser of any work. Nay, it is hardly too much to say, that a perfect translation is an impossibility. Take up Washington's version of the first Defence, or Bennett's of the second, and any one at all conversant with Milton's prose, will be immediately sensible that it was not the master hand that wrought it. But the argument against translations, as adequate exhibitions of an author's style, is stale and too familiar to every one to be here repeated. I have wished to present Milton as a prose writer to my countrymen at large. This I conceived I could not do by giving them translations, and the limits I proposed to myself would not allow me to offer the original Latin to the comparatively few that can understand it.

As to the mode of executing my task, a few words will suffice. Milton's spelling and punctuation I have modernized. The first I was obliged to do, because I could not command a copy of his works in which his own spelling is retained. The second I thought it expedient to do, not only because Milton, as Mr Warton, and after him, Mr Todd maintains, was habitually careless of punctuation, but because I thought it would essentially contribute to make his works more easily read and more perfectly understood. The old punctuation is as uncouth to a modern reader, as the old spelling; and if it be expedient or allowable to change the one, I see no good reason why we may not do the same with the other. But I have never, in a single instance, exchanged one word of Milton for another, even when in abridging it would have been convenient to do so for the sake of preserving the appearance of connexion.

Again, I have broken up Milton's interminable paragraphs. In the Reason of Church Government, he appears to have laid it down as a rule not to be departed from, to make every chapter consist of a single paragraph. And throughout his prose works, these long paragraphs, I am persuaded, have been no small occasion of the neglect with which they have been so unjustly treated. The reader will doubtless thank me for the relief I have afforded him, by crumbling them into portions of tolerable size.

In the pieces abridged, wherever there is the least omission it will be found noted by asterisks.* In three or four instances, words will be found in brackets; they are not my words, however, but Milton's, taken from some passage omitted, but necessary to the full understanding of what is retained. There is not a word in the two volumes which is not Milton's.

I forbear entering upon the subject of Milton's character or style of writing. Of the latter, I could now merely state my own opinion, which, without my reasons for it, would be of no value. Besides, he that will not read Milton's prose for himself, will hardly read my criticism upon it.

With regard to his character, I am aware there are prejudices against it, which it is desirable should be removed. Johnson's Life of Milton is the source, from which most readers in this country, I suspect, re-

* The four asterisks which stand on pp. 245, and 267, immediately after the titles of the pieces there begun, denote merely the omission of the dedications. They should have been followed, as they are preceded, by a line.

ceive their impressions respecting him. But there never was a greater disgrace to a man who professed to be guided by principle, than that Life is to its author. The admirers of Milton in this country, owe it to the injured shade of that great man, to enlighten the public mind on this subject. It would require but little knowledge and less skill. The biographer's motives are sufficiently clear, and his mere malignity stands out in tangible and bold relief on every page. They are both most ably and acutely exposed in Archdeacon Blackburne's 'Remarks upon Johnson's Life of Milton,' which were written in extreme old age with all the animation and strength of early manhood, and which ought to be in the hands of every one that reads or possesses the 'great critic's' pages.

FRANCIS JENKS.

Boston, December 26th, 1826.

OF

REFORMATION IN ENGLAND,

AND

THE CAUSES THAT HITHERTO HAVE HINDERED IT.

IN TWO BOOKS.

WRITTEN TO A FRIEND.

SIR,

AMIDST those deep and retired thoughts, which, with every man christianly instructed, ought to be most frequent of God, and of his miraculous ways and works amongst men, and of our religion and works, to be performed to him; after the story of our Saviour Christ, suffering to the lowest bent of weakness in the flesh, and presently triumphing to the highest pitch of glory in the spirit, which drew up his body also; till we in both be united to him in the revelation of his kingdom, I do not know of any thing more worthy to take up the whole passion of pity on the one side, and joy on the other, than to consider first the foul and sudden corruption, and then, after many a tedious age, the long deferred, but much more wonderful and happy reformation of the church in these latter days. Sad it is to think how that doctrine of the gospel, planted by teachers divinely inspired, and by them winnowed and sifted from the chaff of over-

dated ceremonies, and refined to such a spiritual height and temper of purity, and knowledge of the Creator, that the body, with all the circumstances of time and place, were purified by the affections of the regenerate soul, and nothing left impure but sin; faith needing not the weak and fallible office of the senses, to be either the ushers or interpreters of heavenly mysteries, save where our Lord himself in his sacraments ordained; that such a doctrine should, through the grossness and blindness of her professors, and the fraud of deceivable traditions, drag so downwards, as to backslide one way into the Jewish beggary of old cast rudiments, and stumble forward another way into the new vomited paganism of sensual idolatry, attributing purity or impurity to things indifferent, that they might bring the inward acts of the spirit to the outward and customary eyeservice of the body, as if they could make God earthly and fleshly, because they could not make themselves heavenly and spiritual; they began to draw down all the divine intercourse betwixt God and the soul, yea, the very shape of God himself, into an exterior and bodily form, urgently pretending a necessity and obligement of joining the body in a formal reverence, and worship circumscribed; they hallowed it, they fumed it, they sprinkled it, they bedecked it, not in robes of pure innocency, but of pure linen, with other deformed and fantastic dresses, in palls and mitres, gold, and gewgaws fetched from Aaron's old wardrobe, or the flamins' vestry; then was the priest set to con his motions and his postures, his liturgies and his lurries, till the soul by this means of overbodying herself, given up justly to fleshly delights, bated her wing apace downward; and finding the ease she had from her visible and sensuous colleague the body, in performance of religious duties, her pinions now broken and flagging, shifted

off from herself the labor of high soaring any more, forgot her heavenly flight, and left the dull and droiling carcase to plod on in the old road, and drudging trade of outward conformity. And here out of question from her perverse conceiting of God and holy things, she had fallen to believe no God at all, had not custom and the worm of conscience nipped her incredulity; hence to all the duties of evangelical grace, instead of the adoptive and cheerful boldness which our new alliance with God requires, came servile, and thrallike fear; for in very deed, the superstitious man by his good will is an atheist; but being scared from thence by the pangs and gripes of a boiling conscience, all in a pudder shuffles up to himself such a God, and such a worship as is most agreeable to remedy his fear; which fear of his, as also is his hope, fixed only upon the flesh, renders likewise the whole faculty of his apprehension carnal; and all the inward acts of worship, issuing from the native strength of the soul, run out lavishly to the upper skin, and there harden into a crust of formality. Hence men came to scan the scriptures by the letter, and in the covenant of our redemption, magnified the external signs more than the quickening power of the spirit; and yet looking on them through their own guiltiness with a servile fear, and finding as little comfort, or rather terror from them again, they knew not how to hide their slavish approach to God's behests by them not understood, nor worthily received, but by cloaking their servile crouching to all religious presentments, sometimes lawful, sometimes idolatrous, under the name of humility, and terming the pyebald frippery, and ostentation of ceremonies, decency.

Then was baptism changed into a kind of exorcism, and water, sanctified by Christ's institute, thought little enough to wash off the original spot without the

scratch, or cross impression of a priest's forefinger; and that feast of free grace and adoption to which Christ invited his disciples to sit as brethren, and co-heirs of the happy covenant, which at that table was to be sealed to them, even that feast of love and heavenly admitted fellowship, the seal of filial grace, became the subject of horror, and glouting adoration, pageanted about like a dreadful idol; which sometimes deceives wellmeaning men, and beguiles them of their reward, by their voluntary humility; which indeed is fleshly pride, preferring a foolish sacrifice, and the rudiments of the world, as Saint Paul to the Colossians explaineth, before a savory obedience to Christ's example. Such was Peter's unseasonable humility, as then his knowledge was small, when Christ came to wash his feet; who at an impertinent time would needs strain courtesy with his master, and falling troublesomely upon the lowly allwise, and unexaminable intention of Christ, in what he went with resolution to do, so provoked by his interruption the meek Lord, that he threatened to exclude him from his heavenly portion, unless he could be content to be less arrogant and stiffnecked in his humility.

But to dwell no longer in characterizing the depravities of the church, and how they sprung, and how they took increase; when I recall to mind at last, after so many dark ages, wherein the huge overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the church; how the bright and blissful reformation, by divine power, strook through the black and settled night of ignorance and antichristian tyranny, methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads or hears; and the sweet odor of the returning gospel imbathe his soul with the fragrancy of heaven. Then was the sacred Bible sought out of the dusty

corners where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it, the schools opened, divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues, the princes and cities trooping apace to the new-erected banner of salvation; the martyrs, with the unresistable might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red dragon.

The pleasing pursuit of these thoughts hath oft-times led me into a serious question and debatement with myself, how it should come to pass that England, having had this grace and honor from God, to be the first that should set up a standard for the recovery of lost truth, and blow the first evangelic trumpet to the nations, holding up, as from a hill, the new lamp of saving light to all christendom, should now be last, and most unsettled in the enjoyment of that peace, whereof she taught the way to others; although indeed our Wickliffe's preaching, at which all the succeeding reformers more effectually lighted their tapers, was to his countrymen but a short blaze, soon damped and stifled by the pope and prelates for six or seven kings' reigns; yet methinks the precedency which God gave this island, to be the first restorer of buried truth, should have been followed with more happy success, and sooner attained perfection; in which as yet we are amongst the last; for albeit in purity of doctrine we agree with our brethren, yet in discipline, which is the execution and applying of doctrine home, and laying the salve to the very orifice of the wound, yea, tenting and searching to the core, without which pulpit preaching is but shooting at rovers; in this we are no better than a schism from all the reformation, and a sore scandal to them; for while we hold ordination to belong only to bishops, as our prelates do, we must of necessity hold also

their ministers to be no ministers, and shortly after their church to be no church ; not to speak of those senseless ceremonies which we only retain, as a dangerous earnest of sliding back to Rome, and serving merely, either as a mist to cover nakedness where true grace is extinguished, or as an interlude to set out the pomp of prelatism. Certainly it would be worth the while therefore, and the pains, to inquire more particularly, what, and how many the chief causes have been, that have still hindered our uniform consent to the rest of the churches abroad, at this time especially when the kingdom is in a good propensity thereto; and all men in prayers, in hopes, or in disputes, either for or against it.

Yet I will not insist on that which may seem to be the cause on God's part; as his judgment on our sins, the trial of his own, the unmasking of hypocrites; nor shall I stay to speak of the continual eagerness and extreme diligence of the pope and papists to stop the furtherance of reformation, which know they have no hold or hope of England their lost darling, longer than the government of bishops bolsters them out; and therefore plot all they can to uphold them, as may be seen by the book of Santa Clara, the popish priest, in defence of bishops, which came out piping hot much about the time that one of our own prelates, out of an ominous fear, had writ on the same argument ; as if they had joined their forces, like good confederates, to support one falling Babel.

But I shall chiefly endeavour to declare those causes that hinder the forwarding of true discipline, which are among ourselves. Orderly proceeding will divide our inquiry into our forefathers' days, and into our times. Henry VIII was the first that rent this kingdom from the pope's subjection totally ; but his quarrel being more about supremacy, than other faultiness

in religion that he regarded, it is no marvel if he stuck where he did. The next default was in the bishops, who though they had renounced the pope, they still hugged the popedom, and shared the authority among themselves, by their six bloody articles persecuting the protestants no slacker than the pope would have done. And doubtless, whenever the pope shall fall, if his ruin be not like the sudden downcome of a tower, the bishops, when they see him tottering, will leave him, and fall to scrambling, catch who may, he a patriarchdom, and another what comes next hand; as the French cardinal of late, and the see of Canterbury hath plainly affected.

In Edward the Sixth's days, why a complete Reformation was not effected, to any considerate man may appear. First, he no sooner entered into his kingdom, but into a war with Scotland; from whence the protector returning with victory, had but newly put his hand to repeal the six articles, and throw the images out of churches, but rebellions on all sides, stirred up by obdurate papists, and other tumults, with a plain war in Norfolk, holding tack against two of the king's generals, made them of force content themselves with what they had already done. Hereupon followed ambitious contentions among the peers, which ceased not but with the protector's death, who was the most zealous in this point; and then Northumberland was he that could do most in England, who little minding religion, as his apostacy well shewed at his death, bent all his wit how to bring the right of the crown into his own line. And for the bishops, they were so far from any such worthy attempts, as that they suffered themselves to be the common stales to countenance, with their prostituted gravities, every politic fetch that was then on foot, as oft as the potent statists pleased to employ them. Never do we read that

they made use of their authority and high place of access, to bring the jarring nobility to christian peace, or to withstand their disloyal projects; but if a toleration for mass were to be begged of the king for his sister Mary, lest Charles V should be angry, who but the grave prelates, Cranmer and Ridley, must be sent to extort it from the young king? But out of the mouth of that godly and royal child, Christ himself returned such an awful repulse to those halting and timeserving prelates, that after much bold importunity, they went their way not without shame and tears.

Nor was this the first time that they discovered to be followers of this world; for when the protector's brother, lord Sudley, the admiral, through private malice and malengine was to lose his life, no man could be found fitter than bishop Latimer, like another Dr Shaw, to divulge in his sermon the forged accusations laid to his charge, thereby to defame him with the people, who else it was thought would take ill the innocent man's death, unless the reverend bishop could warrant them there was no foul play. What could be more impious than to debar the children of the king from their right to the crown? To comply with the ambitious usurpation of a traitor, and to make void the last will of Henry VIII, to which the breakers had sworn observance? Yet bishop Cranmer, one of the executors, and the other bishops none refusing, lest they should resist the Duke of Northumberland, could find in their consciences to set their hands to the disenabling and defeating not only of princess Mary the papist, but of Elizabeth the protestant, and, by the bishop's judgment, the lawful issue of king Henry.

Who then can think, though these prelates had sought a further reformation, that the least wry face

of a politician would not have hushed them? But it will be said, these men were martyrs; what then? Though every true christian will be a martyr when he is called to it; not presently does it follow, that every one suffering for religion is, without exception. St Paul writes, that 'a man may give his body to be burnt,' meaning for religion, 'and yet not have charity;' he is not therefore above all possibility of erring, because he burns for some points of truth.

Witness the Arians and Pelagians, which were slain by the heathen for Christ's sake, yet we take both these for no true friends of Christ. If the martyrs, saith Cyprian in his thirtieth epistle, decree one thing, and the gospel another, either the martrys must lose their crown by not observing the gospel for which they are martyrs, or the majesty of the gospel must be broken and lie flat, if it can be overtopped by the novelty of any other decree.

And here withal I invoke the immortal Deity, revealer and judge of secrets, that wherever I have in this book plainly and roundly, though worthily and truly, laid open the faults and blemishes of fathers, martyrs, or christian emperors, or have otherwise inveighed against error and superstition with vehement expressions; I have done it, neither out of malice, nor list to speak evil, nor any vainglory, but of mere necessity to vindicate the spotless truth from an ignominious bondage, whose native worth is now become of such a low esteem, that she is like to find small credit with us for what she can say, unless she can bring a ticket from Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, or prove herself a retainer to Constantine, and wear his badge. More tolerable it were for the church of God, that all these names were utterly abolished like the brazen serpent, than that men's fond opinion should thus idolize them, and the heavenly truth be thus captivated.

Now to proceed, whatsoever the bishops were, it seems they themselves were unsatisfied in matters of religion as they then stood, by that commission granted to eight bishops, eight other divines, eight civilians, eight common lawyers, to frame ecclesiastical constitutions; which no wonder if it came to nothing, for, as Hayward relates, both their professions and their ends were different. Lastly, we all know by example, that exact reformation is not perfected at the first push, and those unwieldy times of Edward VI may hold some plea by this excuse. Now let any reasonable man judge whether that king's reign be a fit time from whence to pattern out the constitution of a church discipline, much less that it should yield occasion from whence to foster and establish the continuance of imperfection, with the commendatory subscriptions of confessors and martyrs, to entitle and engage a glorious name to a gross corruption. It was not episcopacy that wrought in them the heavenly fortitude of martyrdom; as little is it that martyrdom can make good episcopacy; but it was episcopacy that led the good and holy men, through the temptation of the enemy, and the snare of this present world, to many blameworthy and opprobrious actions. And it is still episcopacy that before all our eyes worsens and slugs the most learned, and seeming religious of our ministers, who no sooner advanced to it, but like a seething pot set to cool, sensibly exhale and reak out the greatest part of that zeal, and those gifts which were formerly in them, settling in a skinny concealment of ease and sloth at the top; and if they keep their learning by some potent sway of nature, it is a rare chance; but their devotion most commonly comes to that queazy temper of lukewarmness, that gives a vomit to God himself.

But what do we suffer misshapen and enormous

prelatism, as we do, thus to blanch and varnish her deformities with the fair colors, as before of martyrdom, so now of episcopacy? They are not bishops, God and all good men know they are not, that have filled this land with late confusion and violence, but a tyrannical crew and corporation of impostors that have blinded and abused the world so long under that name. He that enabled with gifts from God, and the lawful and primitive choice of the church assembled in convenient number, faithfully from that time forward feeds his parochial flock, has his coequal and compresbyterial power to ordain ministers and deacons by public prayer, and vote of Christ's congregation in like sort as he himself was ordained, and is a true apostolic bishop. But when he steps up into the chair of pontifical pride, and changes a moderate and exemplary house for a misgoverned and haughty palace, spiritual dignity for carnal precedence, and secular high office and employment for the high negotiations of his heavenly embassage; then he degrades, then he unbishops himself; he that makes him bishop, makes him no bishop. No marvel therefore if St Martin complained to Sulpitius Severus, that since he was bishop he felt inwardly a sensible decay of those virtues and graces that God had given him in great measure before; although the same Sulpitius write that he was nothing tainted or altered in his habit, diet, or personal demeanour from that simple plainness to which he first betook himself. It was not therefore that thing alone which God took displeasure at in the bishops of those times, but rather an universal rottenness and gangrene in the whole function.

From hence then I pass to queen Elizabeth, the next protestant prince, in whose days why religion attained not a perfect reducement in the beginning of

her reign, I suppose the hindering causes will be found to be common with some formerly alleged for king Edward VI; the greenness of the times, the weak estate which queen Mary left the realm in, the great places and offices executed by papists, the judges, the lawyers, the justices of peace for the most part popish, the bishops firm to Rome; from whence was to be expected the furious flashing of excommunications, and absolving the people from their obedience. Next, her private counsellors, whoever they were, persuaded her, as Camden writes, that the altering of ecclesiastical policy would move sedition. Then was the liturgy given to a number of moderate divines, and Sir Thomas Smith a statesman, to be purged and physicked; and surely they were moderate divines indeed, neither hot nor cold; and Grindal, the best of them, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, lost favor in the court, and I think was discharged the government of his see, for favoring the ministers, though Camden seem willing to find another cause; therefore about her second year, in a parliament, of men and minds some scarce well grounded, others belching the sour crudities of yesterday's popery, those constitutions of Edward VI, which, as you heard before, no way satisfied the men that made them, are now established for best, and not to be mended. From that time followed nothing but imprisonments, troubles, disgraces on all those that found fault with the decrees of the convocation, and straight were they branded with the name of puritans. As for the queen herself, she was made believe that by putting down bishops her prerogative would be infringed, of which shall be spoken anon as the course of method brings it in; and why the prelates labored it should be so thought, ask not them, but ask their bellies. They had found a good tabernacle, they sate

under a spreading vine, their lot was fallen in a fair inheritance. And these perhaps were the chief impeachments of a more sound rectifying the church in the queen's time.

From this period I count to begin our times, which because they concern us more nearly, and our own eyes and ears can give us the ampler scope to judge, will require a more exact search; and to effect this the speedier, I shall distinguish such as I esteem to be the hinderers of reformation into three sorts; Antiquitarians, for so I had rather call them than Antiquaries, whose labors are useful and laudable. 2. Libertines. 3. Politicians.

To the votarists of antiquity I shall think to have fully answered, if I shall be able to prove out of antiquity, First, that if they will conform our bishops to the purer times, they must mew their feathers, and their pounces, and make but curtailed bishops of them; and we know they hate to be docked and clipped, as much as to be put down outright. Secondly, that those purer times were corrupt, and their books corrupted soon after. Thirdly, that the best of those that then wrote disclaim that any man should repose on them, and send all to the scriptures.

First, therefore, if those that overaffect antiquity will follow the square thereof, their bishops must be elected by the hands of the whole church. The ancientest of the extant fathers, Ignatius, writing to the Philadelphians, saith, 'that it belongs to them as to the church of God to choose a bishop.' Let no man cavil, but take the church of God as meaning the whole consistence of orders and members, as St Paul's epistles express, and this likewise being read over; besides this, it is there to be marked, that those Philadelphians are exhorted to choose a bishop of Antioch. Whence it seems by the way that there was not that

wary limitation of diocese in those times, which is confirmed even by a fast friend of episcopacy, Camden, who cannot but love bishops as well as old coins, and his much lamented monasteries, for antiquity's sake. He writes in his description of Scotland, 'that over all the world bishops had no certain diocese till pope Dionysius about the year 268 did cut them out; and that the bishops of Scotland executed their function in what place soever they came indifferently, and without distinction, till king Malcolm III, about the year 1070.' Whence may be guessed what their function was; was it to go about circled with a band of rooking officials, with cloakbags full of citations, and processes to be served by a corporality of griffon-like promoters and apparitors? Did he go about to pitch down his court, as an empiric does his bank, to inveigle in all the money of the country? No certainly; it would not have been permitted him to exercise any such function indifferently wherever he came. And verily some such matter it was as want of a fat diocese that kept our Britain bishops so poor in the primitive times, that being called to the council of Ariminum in the year 359, they had not wherewithal to defray the charges of their journey, but were fed and lodged upon the emperor's cost; which must needs be no accidental, but usual poverty in them; for the author, Sulpitius Severus, in his second book of Church History praises them, and avouches it praiseworthy in a bishop to be so poor as to have nothing of his own. But to return to the ancient election of bishops; that it could not lawfully be without the consent of the people is so express in Cyprian, and so often to be met with, that to cite each place at large, were to translate a good part of the volume; therefore, touching the chief passages, I refer the rest to whomso list peruse the author himself. In

the twentyfourth epistle, 'If a bishop,' saith he, 'be once made and allowed by the testimony and judgment of his colleagues and the people, no other can be made.' In the fiftyfifth, 'When a bishop is made by the suffrage of all the people in peace.' In the sixty-eighth, mark but what he says; 'The people chiefly hath power either of choosing worthy ones, or refusing unworthy.' This he there proves by authorities out of the Old and New Testament, and with solid reasons; these were his antiquities.

This voice of the people, to be had ever in episcopal elections, was so well known before Cyprian's time, even to those that were without the church, that the emperor Alexander Severus desired to have his governors of provinces chosen in the same manner, as Lampridius can tell; so little thought it he offensive to monarchy. And if single authorities persuade not, hearken what the whole general council of Nicæa, the first and famousest of all the rest, determines, writing a synodical epistle to the African churches, to warn them of Arianism; it exhorts them to choose orthodox bishops in the place of the dead, so they be worthy, and the people choose them; whereby they seem to make the people's assent so necessary, that merit, without their free choice, were not sufficient to make a bishop. What would ye say now, grave fathers, if you should wake and see unworthy bishops, or rather no bishops, but Egyptian taskmasters of ceremonies thrust purposely upon the groaning church, to the affliction and vexation of God's people? It was not of old that a conspiracy of bishops could frustrate and fob off the right of the people; for we may read how St Martin, soon after Constantine, was made bishop of Turon in France, by the people's consent from all places thereabout, maugre all the opposition that the bishops could make. Thus went

matters of the church almost four hundred years after Christ, and very probably far lower; for Nicephorus Phocas, the Greek emperor, whose reign fell near the 1000th year of our Lord, having done many things tyrannically, is said by Cedrenus to have done nothing more grievous and displeasing to the people, than to have enacted that no bishop should be chosen without his will; so long did this right remain to the people in the midst of other palpable corruptions. Now for episcopal dignity, what it was, see out of Ignatius, who in his epistle to those of Trallis, confesseth, 'that the presbyters are his fellow counsellors and fellow benchers.' And Cyprian in many places, as in the sixth, fortyfirst, and fiftysecond epistles, speaking of presbyters, calls them his compresbyters, as if he deemed himself no other, whenas by the same place it appears he was a bishop; he calls them brethren, but that will be thought his meekness; yea, but the presbyters and deacons writing to him, think they do him honor enough when they phrase him no higher than brother Cyprian, and dear Cyprian in the twentysixth epistle. For their authority, it is evident not to have been single, but depending on the counsel of the presbyters, as from Ignatius was erewhile alleged; and the same Cyprian acknowledges as much in the sixth epistle, and adds thereto, that he had determined, from his entrance into the office of bishop, to do nothing without the consent of his people, and so in the thirtyfirst epistle; for it were tedious to course through all his writings, which are so full of the like assertions, insomuch that even in the womb and centre of apostasy, Rome itself, there yet remains a glimpse of this truth; for the pope himself, as a learned English writer notes well, performeth all ecclesiastical jurisdiction as in consistory among his cardinals, which were originally but the parish

priests of Rome. Thus then did the spirit of unity and meekness inspire and animate every joint and sinew of the mystical body; but now the gravest and worthiest minister, a true bishop of his fold, shall be reviled and ruffled by an insulting and only canon-wise prelate, as if he were some slight paltry companion; and the people of God, redeemed and washed with Christ's blood, and dignified with so many glorious titles of saints and sons in the gospel, are now no better reputed than impure ethnics and lay-dogs; stones, and pillars, and crucifixes, have now the honor and the alms due to Christ's living members; the table of communion, now become a table of separation, stands like an exalted platform upon the brow of the quire, fortified with bulwark and barricado, to keep off the profane touch of the laics, whilst the obscene and surfeited priest scruples not to paw and mammoc the sacramental bread, as familiarly as his tavern biscuit. And thus the people, vilified and rejected by them, give over the earnest study of virtue and godliness, as a thing of greater purity than they need, and the search of divine knowledge, as a mystery too high for their capacities, and only for churchmen to meddle with; which is what the prelates desire, that when they have brought us back to popish blindness, we might commit to their dispose the whole managing of our salvation, for they think it was never fair world with them since that time. But he that will mould a modern bishop into a primitive, must yield him to be elected by the popular voice, undiocesed, unrevenued, unlorded, and leave him nothing but brotherly equality, matchless temperance, frequent fasting, incessant prayer and preaching, continual watchings and labors in his ministry; which what a rich booty it would be, what a plump endowment to the many-benefice-gaping mouth of a prelate, what

a relish it would give to his canary-sucking, and swan-eating palate, let old bishop Mountain judge for me.

How little therefore those ancient times make for modern bishops, hath been plainly discoursed; but let them make for them as much as they will, yet why we ought not to stand to their arbitrement, shall now appear by a threefold corruption which will be found upon them. 1. The best times were spreadingly infected. 2. The best men of those times foully tainted. 3. The best writings of those men dangerously adulterated. These positions are to be made good out of those times witnessing of themselves. First, Ignatius in his early days testifies to the churches of Asia, that even then heresies were sprung up, and rife every where, as Eusebius relates in his third book, thirtyfifth chapter, after the Greek number. And Hegesippus, a grave church writer of prime antiquity, affirms in the same book of Eusebius, chapter thirty-second, 'that while the apostles were on earth, the depravers of doctrine did but lurk; but they once gone, with open forehead they durst preach down the truth with falsities.' Yea, those that are reckoned for orthodox, began to make sad and shameful rents in the church about the trivial celebration of feasts, not agreeing when to keep Easterday; which controversy grew so hot, that Victor, the bishop of Rome, excommunicated all the churches of Asia for no other cause, and was worthily thereof reproved by Irenæus. For can any sound theologer think that these great fathers understood what was gospel, or what was excommunication? Doubtless that which led the good men into fraud and error was, that they attended more to the near tradition of what they heard the apostles sometimes did, than to what they had left written, not considering that many things which they did were by the apostles themselves professed to be done only for

the present, and of mere indulgence to some scrupulous converts of the circumcision, but what they writ was of firm decree to all future ages. Look but a century lower in the first chapter of Eusebius' eighth book. What a universal tetter of impurity had envenomed every part, order, and degree of the church, to omit the lay herd, which will be little regarded; 'those that seem to be our pastors,' saith he, 'overturning the law of God's worship, burnt in contentions one towards another, and increasing in hatred and bitterness, outrageously sought to uphold lordship, and command as it were a tyranny.' Stay but a little, magnanimous bishops, suppress your aspiring thoughts, for there is nothing wanting but Constantine to reign, and then tyranny herself shall give up all her citadels into your hands, and count ye thenceforward her trustiest agents. Such were these that must be called the ancientest and most virgin times between Christ and Constantine. Nor was this general contagion in their actions, and not in their writings; who is ignorant of the foul errors, the ridiculous wresting of scripture, the heresies, the vanities thick sown through the volumes of Justin Martyr, Clemens, Origen, Tertullian, and others of eldest time? Who would think him fit to write an apology for christain faith to the Roman senate, that would tell them 'how of the angels,' which he must needs mean those in Genesis called the sons of God, 'mixing with women were begotten the devils,' as good Justin Martyr in his apology told them? But more indignation would it move to any Christian that shall read Tertullian, terming St Paul a novice, and raw in grace, for reproving St Peter at Antioch, worthy to be blamed if we believe the epistle to the Galatians; perhaps from this hint the blasphemous jesuits presumed in Italy to give their judgment of St Paul, as of a hotheaded person, as Sandys in his relations tells us.

Now besides all this, who knows not how many superstitious works are ingraffed into the legitimate writings of the fathers? And of those books that pass for authentic, who knows what hath been tampered withal, what hath been razed out, what hath been inserted? Besides the late legerdemain of the papists, that which Sulpitius writes concerning Origen's books, gives us cause vehemently to suspect, there hath been packing of old. In the third chapter of his first Dialogue we may read what wrangling the bishops and monks had about the reading or not reading of Origen; some objecting that he was corrupted by heretics, others answering that all such books had been so dealt with. How then shall I trust these times to lead me, that testify so ill of leading themselves? Certainly of their defects their own witness may be best received; but of the rectitude and sincerity of their life and doctrine, to judge rightly, we must judge by that which was to be their rule.

But it will be objected, that this was an unsettled state of the church, wanting the temporal magistrate to suppress the license of false brethren, and the extravagancy of still new opinions; a time not imitable for church government, where the temporal and spiritual power did not close in one belief, as under Constantine. I am not of opinion to think the church a vine in this respect, because, as they take it, she cannot subsist without clasping about the elm of worldly strength and felicity, as if the heavenly city could not support itself without the props and buttresses of secular authority. They extol Constantine because he extolled them; as our homebred monks in their histories blanch the kings their benefactors, and brand those that went about to be their correctors. If he had curbed the growing pride, avarice, and luxury of the clergy, then every page of his story should have

swelled with his faults, and that which Zozimus the heathen writes of him should have come in to boot; we should have heard then in every declamation how he slew his nephew Commodus, a worthy man, his noble and eldest son Crispus, his wife Fausta, besides numbers of his friends; then his cruel exactions, his unsoundness in religion, favoring the Arians that had been condemned in a council, of which himself sat as it were president; his hard measure and banishment of the faithful and invincible Athanasius; his living unbaptized almost to his dying day; these blurs are too apparent in his life. But since he must needs be the loadstar of reformation, as some men clatter, it will be good to see further his knowledge of religion what it was, and by that we may likewise guess at the sincerity of his times in those that were not heretical, it being likely that he would converse with the famousest prelates, for so he had made them, that were to be found for learning.

Of his Arianism we heard, and for the rest, a pretty scantling of his knowledge may be taken by his deferring to be baptized so many years, a thing not usual, and repugnant to the tenor of scripture; Philip knowing nothing that should hinder the eunuch to be baptized after profession of his belief. Next, by the excessive devotion, that I may not say superstition both of him and his mother Helena, to find out the cross on which Christ suffered, that had long lain under the rubbish of old ruins; a thing which the disciples and kindred of our Saviour might with more ease have done, if they had thought it a pious duty; some of the nails whereof he put into his helmet, to bear off blows in battle; others he fastened among the studs of his bridle, to fulfil, as he thought, or his court bishops persuaded him, the prophecy of Zechariah; 'And it shall be that which is in the bridle shall be

holy to the Lord.' Part of the cross, in which he thought such virtue to reside, as would prove a kind of Palladium to save the city wherever it remained, he caused to be laid up in a pillar of porphyry by his statue. How he or his teachers could trifle thus with half an eye open upon St Paul's principles, I know not how to imagine.

How should then the dim taper of this emperor's age that had such need of snuffing, extend any beam to our times wherewith we might hope to be better lighted, than by those luminaries that God hath set up to shine to us far nearer hand. And what reformation he wrought for his own time, it will not be amiss to consider; he appointed certain times for fasts and feasts, built stately churches, gave large immunities to the clergy, great riches and promotions to bishops, gave and ministered occasion to bring in a deluge of ceremonies, thereby either to draw in the heathen by a resemblance of their rites, or to set a gloss upon the simplicity and plainness of christianity; which, to the gorgeous solemnities of paganism, and the sense of the world's children, seemed but a homely and yeomanly religion; for the beauty of inward sanctity was not within their prospect.

So that in this manner the prelates, both then and ever since, coming from a mean and plebeian life on a sudden to be lords of stately palaces, rich furniture, delicious fare, and princely attendance, thought the plain and homespun verity of Christ's gospel unfit any longer to hold their lordship's acquaintance, unless the poor threadbare matron were put into better clothes; her chaste and modest veil, surrounded with celestial beams, they overlaid with wanton tresses, and in a flaring tire bespeckled her with all the gaudy allurements of a whore.

Thus flourished the church with Constantine's

wealth, and thereafter were the effects that followed; his son Constantius proved a flat Arian, and his nephew Julian an apostate, and there his race ended; the church that before by insensible degrees welked and impaired, now with large steps went down hill decaying; at this time Antichrist began first to put forth his horn, and that saying was common, that former times had wooden chalices and golden priests; but they, golden chalices and wooden priests. 'Formerly,' saith Sulpitius, 'martyrdom by glorious death was sought more greedily than now bishoprics by vile ambition are hunted after,' speaking of these times; and in another place, 'they gape after possessions, they tend lands and livings, they cover over their gold, they buy and sell; and if there be any that neither possess nor traffic, that which is worse, they sit still, and expect gifts, and prostitute every endowment of grace, every holy thing, to sale.' And in the end of his history thus he concludes; 'All things went to rack by the faction, wilfulness, and avarice of the bishops; and by this means God's people, and every good man was had in scorn and derision;' which St Martin found truly to be said by his friend Sulpitius; for, being held in admiration of all men, he had only the bishops his enemies, found God less favorable to him after he was bishop than before, and for his last sixteen years would come at no bishop's meeting. Thus you see, sir, what Constantine's doings in the church brought forth, either in his own or in his son's reign.

Now, lest it should be thought that something else might ail this author thus to hamper the bishops of those days, I will bring you the opinion of three the famousest men for wit and learning that Italy at this day glories of, whereby it may be concluded for a received opinion even among men professing the

Romish faith, that Constantine marred all in the church. Dante in his nineteenth Canto of Inferno hath thus, as I will render it you in English blank verse;

Ah Constantine! of how much ill was cause,
Not thy conversion, but those rich domains
That the first wealthy pope received of thee!

So, in his twentieth Canto of Paradise, he makes the like complaint, and Petrarch seconds him in the same mind in his one hundred and eighth sonnet, which is wiped out by the inquisitor in some editions; speaking of the Roman Antichrist as merely bred up by Constantine.

Founded in chaste and humble poverty,
'Gainst them that raised thee dost thou lift thy horn?
Impudent whore, where hast thou placed thy hope?
In thy adulterers, or thy ill got wealth?
Another Constantine comes not in haste.

Ariosto of Ferrara, after both these in time, but equal in fame, following the scope of his poem in a difficult knot how to restore Orlando his chief hero to his lost senses, brings Astolfo, the English knight, up into the moon, where St John, as he feigns, met him. Canto thirtyfour.

And to be short, at last his guide him brings
Into a goodly valley, where he sees
A mighty mass of things strangely confused,
Things that on earth were lost, or were abused.

And amongst these so abused things, listen what he met withal, under the conduct of the Evangelist.

Then past he to a flowery mountain green,
Which once smelt sweet, now stinks as odiously;
This was that gift, if you the truth will have,
That Constantine to good Sylvestro gave.

And this was a truth well known in England before this poet was born, as our Chaucer's Ploughman shall tell you by and by upon another occasion. By all these circumstances laid together, I do not see how it can be disputed what good this emperor Constantine wrought to the church, but rather whether ever any, though perhaps not wittingly, set open a door to more mischief in christendom. There is just cause, therefore, that when the prelates cry out, Let the church be reformed according to Constantine, it should sound to a judicious ear no otherwise, than if they should say, Make us rich, make us lofty, make us lawless; for if any under him were not so, thanks to those ancient remains of integrity, which were not yet quite worn out, and not to his government.

Thus, finally, it appears, that those purer times were not such as they are cried up, and not to be followed without suspicion, doubt, and danger. The last point wherein the antiquary is to be dealt with at his own weapon, is to make it manifest, that the ancientest and best of the fathers have disclaimed all sufficiency in themselves that men should rely on, and sent all comers to the scriptures, as allsufficient; that this is true, will not be unduly gathered, by showing what esteem they had of antiquity themselves, and what validity they thought in it to prove doctrine, or discipline. I must of necessity begin from the second rank of fathers, because till then antiquity could have no plea. Cyprian in his sixtythird epistle; 'If any,' saith he, 'of our ancestors, either ignorantly, or out of simplicity, hath not observed that which the Lord taught us by his example,' speaking of the Lord's supper, 'his simplicity God may pardon of his mercy; but we cannot be excused for following him, being instructed by the Lord.' And have not we the same instructions? and will not this holy man, with all the

whole consistory of saints and martyrs that lived of old, rise up and stop our mouths in judgment, when we shall go about to father our errors and opinions upon their authority? In the seventythird epistle, he adds, 'In vain do they oppose custom to us, if they be overcome by reason; as if custom were greater than truth, or that in spiritual things that were not to be followed, which is revealed for the better by the Holy Ghost.' In the seventyfourth; 'Neither ought custom to hinder that truth should not prevail; for custom without truth is but agedness of error.'

Next, Lactantius, he that was preferred to have the bringing up of Constantine's children, in his second book of Institutions, chapter seventh and eighth, disputes against the vain trust in antiquity, as being the chiefest argument of the heathen against the christians. 'They do not consider,' saith he, 'what religion is, but they are confident it is true, because the ancients delivered it; they count it a trespass to examine it.' And in the eighth; 'Not because they went before us in time, therefore in wisdom, which being given alike to all ages, cannot be prepossessed by the ancients; wherefore seeing that to seek the truth is inbred to all, they bereave themselves of wisdom, the gift of God, who without judgment follow the ancients, and are led by others like brute beasts.' St Austin writes to Fortunatian, that 'he counts it lawful in the books of whomsoever, to reject that which he finds otherwise than true, and so he would have others deal by him.' He neither accounted, as it seems, those fathers that went before, nor himself, nor others of his rank, for men of more than ordinary spirit, that might equally deceive, and be deceived; and ofttimes setting our servile humors aside, yea, God so ordering, we may find truth with one man, as soon as in a council, as Cyprian agrees, seventyfirst

epistle. 'Many things,' saith he, 'are better revealed to single persons.' At Nicæa, in the first and best reputed council of all the world, there had gone out a canon to divorce married priests, had not one old man, Paphnutius, stood up and reasoned against it.

Now remains it to show clearly that the fathers refer all decision of controversy to the scriptures, as all-sufficient to direct, to resolve, and to determine. Ignatius, taking his last leave of the Asian churches, as he went to martyrdom, exhorted them to adhere close to the written doctrine of the apostles, necessarily written for posterity; so far was he from unwritten traditions, as may be read in the thirtysixth chapter of Eusebius, third book. In the seventyfourth epistle of Cyprian against Stefan, bishop of Rome, imposing upon him a tradition; 'Whence,' quoth he, 'is this tradition? Is it fetched from the authority of Christ in the gospel, or of the apostles in their epistles? for God testifies that those things are to be done which are written.' And then thus; 'What obstinacy, what presumption is this, to prefer human tradition before divine ordinance?' And in the same epistle; 'If we shall return to the head and beginning of divine tradition,' which we all know he means the Bible, 'human error ceases; and the reason of heavenly mysteries unfolded, whatsoever was obscure becomes clear.' And in the fourteenth distinction of the same epistle, directly against our modern fantasies of a still visible church, he teaches, 'that succession of truth may fail; to renew which, we must have recourse to the fountains;' using this excellent similitude, 'if a channel, or conduitpipe, which brought in water plentifully before, suddenly fail, do we not go to the fountain to know the cause, whether the spring affords no more, or whether the vein be stopped, or turned aside in the midcourse? Thus ought we to do, keeping God's

precepts, that if in aught the truth shall be changed, we may repair to the gospel, and to the apostles, that thence may arise the reason of our doings, from whence our order and beginning arose.' In the seventyfifth he inveighs bitterly against pope Stephanus, 'for that he could boast his succession from Peter, and yet foist in traditions that were not apostolical.' And in his book of the unity of the church, he compares those that, neglecting God's word, follow the doctrines of men, to Corah, Dathan and Abiram. The very first page of Athanasius against the gentiles, avers the scriptures to be sufficient of themselves for the declaration of truth; and that if his friend Macarius read other religious writers, it was but φιλομάθως, come un virtuoso, as the Italians say, as a lover of elegance. And in his second tome, the thirtyninth page, after he hath reckoned up the canonical books, 'in these only,' saith he, 'is the doctrine of godliness taught; let no man add to these, or take from these.' And in his Synopsis, having again set down all the writers of the Old and New Testament, 'these,' saith he, 'be the anchors and props of our faith.' Besides these, millions of other books have been written by great and wise men according to rule and agreement with these, of which I will not now speak, as being of infinite number, and mere dependence on the canonical books. Basil, in his second tome, writing of true faith, tells his auditors, he is bound to teach them that which he hath learned out of the Bible. And in the same treatise he saith, 'that seeing the commandments of the Lord are faithful, and sure for ever, it is a plain falling from the faith, and a high pride, either to make void any thing therein, or to introduce any thing not there to be found.' And he gives the reason, 'for Christ saith, My sheep hear my voice; they will not follow another, but fly from him, because they know not his voice.'

But not to be endless in quotations, it may chance to be objected, that there be many opinions in the fathers which have no ground in scripture; so much the less, may I say, should we follow them, for their own words shall condemn them, and acquit us that lean not on them; otherwise these their words will acquit them, and condemn us. But it will be replied, the scriptures are difficult to be understood, and therefore require the explanation of the fathers. It is true, there be some books, and especially some places in those books, that remain clouded; yet ever that which is most necessary to be known, is most easy; and that which is most difficult, so far expounds itself ever, as to tell us how little it imports our saving knowledge. Hence to infer a general obscurity over all the text, is a mere suggestion of the devil to dissuade men from reading it, and casts an aspersion of dishonor both upon the mercy, truth and wisdom of God. We count it no gentleness, or fair dealing in a man of power amongst us, to require strict and punctual obedience, and yet give out all his commands ambiguous and obscure; we should think he had a plot upon us; certainly such commands were no commands, but snares. The very essence of truth is plainness and brightness; the darkness and crookedness is our own. The wisdom of God created understanding fit and proportionable to truth, the object and end of it, as the eye to the thing visible. If our understanding have a film of ignorance over it, or be blear with gazing on other false glisterings, what is that to truth? If we will but purge with sovereign eyesalve that intellectual ray which God hath planted in us, then we would believe the scriptures protesting their own plainness and perspicuity, calling to them to be instructed, not only the wise and learned, but the simple, the poor, the babes, foretelling an extraordinary effusion of God's spirit

upon every age and sex, attributing to all men, and requiring from them the ability of searching, trying, examining all things, and by the spirit discerning that which is good; and as the scriptures themselves pronounce their own plainness, so do the fathers testify of them.

I will not run into a paroxysm of citations again in this point, only instance Athanasius in his forementioned first page. 'The knowledge of truth,' saith he, 'wants no human lore, as being evident in itself, and by the preaching of Christ now opens brighter than the sun.' If these doctors, who had scarce half the light that we enjoy, who all, except two or three, were ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, and many of the Greek, blundering upon the dangerous and suspectful translations of the apostate Aquila, the heretical Theodotion, the judaized Symmachus, the erroneous Origen; if these could yet find the Bible so easy, why should we doubt, that have all the helps of learning, and faithful industry that man in this life can look for, and the assistance of God as near now to us as ever? But let the scriptures be hard; are they more hard, more crabbed, more abstruse than the fathers? He that cannot understand the sober, plain, and unaffected style of the scriptures, will be ten times more puzzled with the knotty Africanisms, the pampered metaphors, the intricate and involved sentences of the fathers, besides the fantastic and declamatory flashes, the cross-jingling periods which cannot but disturb, and come thwart a settled devotion, worse than the din of bells and rattles.

Now, sir, for the love of holy reformation, what can be said more against these importunate clients of antiquity, than she herself, their patroness, hath said? Whether, think ye, would she approve; still to doat upon immeasurable, innumerable, and therefore unneces-

sary and unmerciful volumes, choosing rather to err with the specious name of the fathers; or, to take a sound truth at the hand of a plain upright man, that all his days hath been diligently reading the holy scriptures, and thereto imploring God's grace, while the admirers of antiquity have been beating their brains about their ambones, their dyptichs, and meniaias? Now, he that cannot tell of stations and indictions, nor has wasted his precious hours in the endless conferring of councils and conclaves that demolish one another; although I know many of those that pretend to be great rabbies in these studies, have scarce saluted them from the strings and the title-page, or, to give them more, have been but the ferrets and mousehunts of an index; yet what pastor or minister, how learned, religious, or discreet soever, does not now bring both his cheeks full blown with œcumenical and synodical, shall be counted a lank, shallow, insufficient man, yea, a dunce, and not worthy to speak about reformation of church discipline. But I trust they for whom God hath reserved the honor of reforming this church, will easily perceive their adversaries' drift in thus calling for antiquity. They fear the plain field of the scriptures; the chase is too hot; they seek the dark, the bushy, the tangled forest; they would imbosk; they feel themselves strook in the transparent streams of divine truth; they would plunge, and tumble, and think to lie hid in the foul weeds and muddy waters, where no plummet can reach the bottom. But let them beat themselves like whales, and spend their oil till they be dragged ashore. Though wherefore should the ministers give them so much line for shifts and delays? Wherefore should they not urge only the gospel, and hold it ever in their faces like a mirror of diamond, till it dazzle and pierce their misty eyeballs? maintaining it the

honor of its absolute sufficiency and supremacy inviolable; for if the scripture be for reformation, and antiquity to boot, it is but an advantage to the dozen, it is no winning cast; and though antiquity be against it, while the scriptures be for it, the cause is as good as ought to be wished, antiquity itself sitting judge.

But to draw to an end; the second sort of those that may be justly numbered among the hinderers of reformation, are libertines; these suggest that the discipline sought would be intolerable; for one bishop now in a diocese, we should then have a pope in every parish. It will not be requisite to answer these men, but only to discover them; for reason they have none, but lust and licentiousness, and therefore answer can have none. It is not any discipline that they could live under; it is the corruption and remissness of discipline that they seek. Episcopacy duly executed, yea, the Turkish and Jewish rigor against whoring and drinking; the dear and tender discipline of a father, the sociable and loving reproof of a brother, the bosom admonition of a friend, is a presbytery, and a consistory to them. It is only the merry friar in Chaucer can disple them.

> Full sweetly heard he confession,
> And pleasant was his absolution;
> He was an easy man to give penance.

And so I leave them; and refer the political discourse of episcopacy to a second book.

OF

REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

THE SECOND BOOK.

SIR,

IT is a work good and prudent to be able to guide one man; of larger extended virtue to order well one house; but to govern a nation piously and justly, which only is to say happily, is for a spirit of the greatest size, and divinest mettle. And certainly of no less a mind, nor of less excellence in another way, were they who by writing laid the solid and true foundations of this science, which being of greatest importance to the life of man, yet there is no art that hath been more cankered in her principles, more soiled, and slubbered with aphorisming pedantry, than the art of policy; and that most, where a man would think should least be, in christian commonwealths. They teach not, that to govern well, is to train up a nation in true wisdom and virtue, and that which springs from thence, magnanimity, (take heed of that) and that which is our beginning, regeneration, and happiest end, likeness to God, which in one word we call godliness; and that this is the true flourishing of a land, other things follow as the shadow does the substance; to teach thus were mere pulpitry to them. This is the masterpiece of a modern politician, how to qualify and mould the sufferance and subjection of the people to the length of that foot that is to tread

on their necks; how rapine may serve itself with the fair and honorable pretences of public good; how the puny law may be brought under the wardship and control of lust and will; in which attempt if they fall short, then must a superficial color of reputation by all means, direct or indirect, be gotten to wash over the unsightly bruise of honor. To make men governable in this manner, their precepts mainly tend to break a national spirit and courage, by countenancing open riot, luxury, and ignorance, till having thus disfigured and made men beneath men, as Juno in the fable of Io, they deliver up the poor transformed heifer of the commonwealth to be stung and vexed with the breese and goad of oppression, under the custody of some Argus with a hundred eyes of jealousy. To be plainer, sir, how to solder, how to stop a leak, how to keep up the floating carcase of a crazy and diseased monarchy or state, betwixt wind and water, swimming still upon her own dead lees, that now is the deep design of a politician. Alas, sir! a commonwealth ought to be but as one huge christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man, as big and compact in virtue as in body; for look what the grounds and causes are of single happiness to one man; the same ye shall find them to a whole state, as Aristotle, both in his ethics and politics, from the principles of reason lays down; by consequence therefore, that which is good and agreeable to monarchy will appear soonest to be so, by being good and agreeable to the true welfare of every christian; and that which can be justly proved hurtful and offensive to every true christian, will be evinced to be alike hurtful to monarchy; for God forbid that we should separate and distinguish the end and good of a monarch, from the end and good of the monarchy, or of that, from christianity.

How then this third and last sort that hinder reformation, will justify that it stands not with reason of state, I much muse; for certain I am, the Bible is shut against them; as certain that neither Plato nor Aristotle is for their turns. What they can bring us now from the schools of Loyola with his Jesuits, or their Malvezzi, that can cut Tacitus into slivers and steaks, we shall presently hear. They alledge, first, that the church government must be conformable to the civil polity; next, that no form of church government is agreeable to monarchy, but that of bishops. Must church government that is appointed in the gospel, and has chief respect to the soul, be conformable and pliant to civil, that is arbitrary, and chiefly conversant about the visible and external part of man? This is the very maxim that moulded the calves of Bethel and of Dan; this was the quintessence of Jeroboam's policy; he made religion conform to his politic interests; and this was the sin that watched over the Israelites till their final captivity. If this state principle come from the prelates, as they affect to be counted statists, let them look back to Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, and see what he thought of the policy of England; being required by Lucius, the first christian king of this island, to give his counsel for the founding of religious laws, little thought he of this sage caution, but bids him betake himself to the Old and New Testament, and receive direction from them how to administer both church and commonwealth; that he was God's vicar, and therefore to rule by God's laws; that the edicts of Cæsar we may at all times disallow, but the statutes of God for no reason we may reject. Now certain, if church government be taught in the gospel, as the bishops dare not deny, we may well conclude of what late standing this position is, newly calculated for the altitude of bishop-elevation, and lettuce for

their lips. But by what example can they show, that the form of church discipline must be minted and modelled out to secular pretences? The ancient republic of the Jews is evident to have run through all the changes of civil estate, if we survey the story from the giving of the law to the Herods; yet did one manner of priestly government serve without inconvenience to all these temporal mutations; it served the mild aristocracy of elective dukes, and heads of tribes joined with them; the dictatorship of the judges, the easy or hardhanded monarchies, the domestic or foreign tyrannies; lastly, the Roman senate from without, the Jewish senate at home, with the Galilean tetrarch; yet the Levites had some right to deal in civil affairs; but, seeing the evangelical precept forbids churchmen to intermeddle with worldly employments, what interweavings or interworkings can knit the minister and the magistrate in their several functions, to the regard of any precise correspondency? Seeing that the churhman's office is only to teach men the christian faith, to exhort all, to encourage the good, to admonish the bad, privately the less offender, publicly the scandalous and stubborn; to censure and separate from the communion of Christ's flock, the contagious and incorrigible, to receive with joy and fatherly compassion the penitent; all this must be done, and more than this is beyond any church authority. What is all this either here or there, to the temporal regiment of weal public, whether it be popular, princely, or monarchical? Where doth it entrench upon the temporal governor? Where does it come in his walk? Where doth it make inroad upon his jurisdiction? Indeed if the minister's part be rightly discharged, it renders him the people more conscionable, quiet, and easy to be governed; if otherwise, his life and doctrine will declare him. If

therefore the constitution of the church be already set down by divine prescript, as all sides confess, then can she not be a handmaid to wait on civil commodities and respects; and if the nature and limits of church discipline be such, as are either helpful to all political estates indifferently, or have no particular relation to any, then is there no necessity, nor indeed possibility of linking the one with the other in a special conformation.

Now for their second conclusion, 'That no form of church government is agreeable to monarchy, but that of bishops,' although it fall to pieces of itself by that which hath been said, yet to give them play, front and rear, it shall be my task to prove that episcopacy, with that authority which it challenges in England, is not only not agreeable, but tending to the destruction of monarchy. While the primitive pastors of the church of God labored faithfully in their ministry, tending only their sheep, and not seeking, but avoiding all worldly matters as clogs, and indeed derogations and debasements to their high calling, little needed the princes and potentates of the earth, which way soever the gospel was spread, to study ways how to make a coherence between the church's polity, and theirs. Therefore when Pilate heard once our Saviour Christ professing that 'his kingdom was not of this world,' he thought the man could not stand much in Cæsar's light, nor much endamage the Roman empire; for if the life of Christ be hid to this world, much more is his sceptre unoperative but in spiritual things. And thus lived for two or three ages, the successors of the apostles. But when through Constantine's lavish superstition they forsook their first love, and set themselves up two gods instead, Mammon and their belly; then taking advantage of the spiritual power which they had on men's consciences,

they began to cast a longing eye to get the body also, and bodily things into their command; upon which their carnal desires, the spirit daily quenching and dying in them, knew no way to keep themselves up from falling to nothing, but by bolstering and supporting their inward rottenness by a carnal and outward strength. For a while they rather privily sought opportunity, than hastily disclosed their project; but when Constantine was dead, and three or four emperors more, their drift became notorious and offensive to the whole world; for while Theodosius the younger reigned, thus writes Socrates the historian, in his seventh book, chapter eleventh. 'Now began an ill name to stick upon the bishops of Rome and Alexandria, who beyond their priestly bounds now long ago had stepped into principality;' and this was scarce eighty years since their raising from the meanest worldly condition. Of courtesy now let any man tell me, if they draw to themselves a temporal strength and power out of Cæsar's dominion, is not Cæsar's empire thereby diminished? But this was a stolen bit; hitherto he was but a caterpillar secretly gnawing at monarchy; the next time you shall see him a wolf, a lion, lifting his paw against his raiser, as Petrarch expressed it, and finally an open enemy and subverter of the Greek empire. Philippicus and Leo, with divers other emperors after them, not without the advice of their patriarchs, and at length of a whole eastern council of three hundred and thirtyeight bishops, threw the images out of the churches as being decreed idolatrous.

Upon this goodly occasion, the bishop of Rome not only seizes the city and all the territory about into his own hands, and makes himself lord thereof, which till then was governed by a Greek magistrate, but absolves all Italy of their tribute and obedience

due to the emperor, because he obeyed God's commandment in abolishing idolatry.

Mark, sir, here, how the pope came by St Peter's patrimony, as he feigns it; not the donation of Constantine, but idolatry and rebellion got it him. Ye need but read Sigonius, one of his own sect, to know the story at large. And now to shroud himself against a storm from the Greek continent, and provide a champion to bear him out in these practices, he takes upon him by papal sentence to unthrone Chilpericus, the rightful king of France, and gives the kingdom to Pepin, for no other cause but that he seemed to him the more active man. If he were a friend herein to monarchy, I know not; but to the monarch I need not ask what he was.

Having thus made Pepin his fast friend, he calls him into Italy against Aistulphus, the Lombard, that warred upon him for his late usurpation of Rome, as belonging to Ravenna, which he had newly won. Pepin, not unobedient to the pope's call, passing into Italy, frees him out of danger, and wins for him the whole exarchate of Ravenna; which, though it had been almost immediately before the hereditary possession of that monarchy which was his chief patron and benefactor, yet he takes and keeps it to himself as lawful prize, and given to St Peter. What a dangerous fallacy is this, when a spiritual man may snatch to himself any temporal dignity or dominion, under pretence of receiving it for the church's use? Thus he claims Naples, Sicily, England, and what not. To be short, under show of his zeal against the errors of the Greek church, he never ceased baiting and goring the successors of his best lord, Constantine, what by his barking curses and excommunications, what by his hindering the western princes from aiding them against the Saracens and Turks,

unless when they humored him; so that it may be truly affirmed, he was the subversion and fall of that monarchy, which was the hoisting of him. This, besides Petrarch, whom I have cited, our Chaucer also hath observed, and gives from hence a caution to England, to beware of her bishops in time, for that their ends and aims are no more friendly to monarchy, than the pope's.

This he begins in the Ploughman speaking, Part second, Stanza twentyeighth.

> The emperor yafe the pope sometime
> So high lordship him about,
> That at last the silly kime,
> The proud pope put him out;
> So of this realm is no doubt,
> But lords beware and them defend;
> For now these folks be wonders stout,
> The king and lords now this amend.

And in the next Stanza, which begins the third Part of the tale, he argues that they ought not to be lords.

> Moses law forbode it tho
> That priests should no lordship welde;
> Christ's gospel biddeth also
> That they should no lordships held;
> Ne Christ's apostles were never so bold
> No such lordships to hem embrace,
> But smeren her sheep and keep her fold.

And so forward. Whether the bishops of England have deserved thus to be feared by men so wise as our Chaucer is esteemed, and how agreeable to our monarchy and monarchs their demeanour has been, he that is but meanly read in our chronicles needs not to be instructed. Have they not been as the Canaanites, and Philistines to this kingdom? What treasons, what revolts to the pope, what rebellions, and those the basest and most pretenceless, have they not been

chief in? What could monarchy think, when Becket durst challenge the custody of Rochester Castle, and the Tower of London, as appertaining to his signory? to omit his other insolencies and affronts to regal majesty, till the lashes inflicted on the anointed body of the king, washed off the holy unction with his blood drawn by the polluted hands of bishops, abbots, and monks.

What good upholders of royalty were the bishops, when, by their rebellious opposition against king John, Normandy was lost, he himself deposed, and this kingdom made over to the pope? when the bishop of Winchester durst tell the nobles, the pillars of the realm, that there were no peers in England, as in France, but that the king might do what he pleased? What could tyranny say more? It would be pretty now, if I should insist upon the rendering up of Tournay by Woolsey's treason, the excommunications, cursings, and interdicts upon the whole land; for haply I shall be cut off short by a reply, that these were the faults of men and their popish errors, not of episcopacy, that hath now renounced the pope, and is a protestant. Yes, sure; as wise and famous men have suspected and feared the protestant episcopacy in England, as those that have feared the papal.

You know, sir, what was the judgment of Padre Paolo, the great Venetian antagonist of the pope, for it is extant in the hands of many men, whereby he declares his fear, that when the hierarchy of England shall light into the hands of busy and audacious men, or shall meet with princes tractable to the prelacy, then much mischief is like to ensue. And can it be nearer hand, than when bishops shall openly affirm that no bishop, no king? A trim paradox, and that ye may know where they have been a begging for it, I will fetch you the twin brother to it out of the Je-

suits' cell; they, feeling the axe of God's reformation, hewing at the old and hollow trunk of papacy, and finding the Spaniard their surest friend, and safest refuge, to sooth him up in his dream of a fifth monarchy, and withal to uphold the decrepit papalty, have invented this superpolitic aphorism, as one terms it, one pope and one king.

Surely there is not any prince in christendom, who, hearing this rare sophistry, can choose but smile; and if we be not blind at home, we may as well perceive that this worthy motto, no bishop, no king, is of the same batch, and infanted out of the same fears; a mere ague cake coagulated of a certain fever they have, presaging their time to be but short; and now, like those that are sinking, they catch round of that which is likeliest to hold them up, and would persuade regal power, that if they dive, he must after. But what greater debasement can there be to royal dignity, whose towering and steadfast height rests upon the unmoveable foundations of justice and heroic virtue, than to chain it in a dependance of subsisting or ruining, to the painted battlements and gaudy rottenness of prelatry, which want but one puff of the king's to blow them down like a pasteboard house built of court-cards? Sir, the little ado which methinks I find in untacking these pleasant sophisms, puts me into the mood to tell you a tale ere I proceed further; and Menenius Agrippa speed us.

Upon a time the body summoned all the members to meet in the guild for the common good, as Æsop's chronicles aver many stranger accidents; the head by right takes the first seat, and next to it a huge and monstrous wen little less than the head itself, growing to it by a narrower excrescency. The members, amazed, began to ask one another what he was that took place next their chief? None could resolve.

Whereat the wen, though unwieldy, with much ado gets up, and bespeaks the assembly to this purpose; that as in place he was second to the head, so by due of merit; that he was to it an ornament, and strength, and of special near relation; and that if the head should fail, none were fitter than himself to step into his place; therefore he thought it for the honor of the body, that such dignities and rich endowments should be decreed him, as did adorn and set out the noblest members. To this was answered, that it should be consulted. Then was a wise and learned philosopher sent for, that knew all the charters, laws and tenures of the body. On him it is imposed by all, as chief committee, to examine, and discuss the claim and petition of right put in by the wen; who soon perceiving the matter, and wondering at the boldness of such a swollen tumor, Wilt thou, quoth he, that art but a bottle of vicious and hardened excrements, contend with the lawful and freeborn members, whose certain number is set by ancient, and unrepealable statute? Head thou art none, though thou receive this huge substance from it. What office bearest thou? What good canst thou show by thee done to the commonweal? The wen, not easily dashed, replies, that his office was his glory; for so oft as the soul would retire out of the head from over the steaming vapors of the lower parts to divine contemplation, with him she found the purest and quietest retreat, as being most remote from soil and disturbance. Lourdan, quoth the philosopher, thy folly is as great as thy filth. Know that all the faculties of the soul are confined of old to their several vessels and ventricles, from which they cannot part without dissolution of the whole body; and, that thou containest no good thing in thee, but a heap of hard and loathsome uncleanness, and art to the head a foul disfigurement and burden, when

I have cut thee off and opened thee, as by the help of these implements I will do, all men shall see.

But to return whence was digressed; seeing that the throne of a king, as the wise king Solomon often remembers us, 'is established in justice,' which is the universal justice that Aristotle so much praises, containing in it all other virtues, it may assure us that the fall of prelacy, whose actions are so far distant from justice, cannot shake the least fringe that borders the royal canopy; but that their standing doth continually oppose and lay battery to regal safety, shall by that which follows easily appear. Amongst many secondary and accessary causes that support monarchy, these are not of least reckoning, though common to all other states; the love of the subjects, the multitude and valor of the people, and store of treasure. In all these things hath the kingdom been of late sore weakened, and chiefly by the prelates.

First, let any man consider, that if any prince shall suffer under him a commission of authority to be exercised, till all the land groan and cry out, as against a whip of scorpions, whether this be not likely to lessen, and keel the affections of the subject. Next, what numbers of faithful and freeborn Englishmen and good Christians, have been constrained to forsake their dearest home, their friends and kindred, whom nothing but the wide ocean, and the savage deserts of America could hide and shelter from the fury of the bishops? O sir, if we could but see the shape of our dear mother England, as poets are wont to give a personal form to what they please, how would she appear, think ye, but in a mourning weed, with ashes upon her head, and tears abundantly flowing from her eyes, to behold so many of her children exposed at once, and thrust from things of dearest necessity, because their conscience could not assent to things which the bish-

ops thought indifferent? What more binding than conscience? What more free than indifferency? Cruel then must that indifferency needs be, that shall violate the strict necessity of conscience; merciless and inhuman that free choice and liberty that shall break asunder the bonds of religion! Let the astrologer be dismayed at the portentous blaze of comets, and impressions in the air, as foretelling troubles and changes to states; I shall believe there cannot be a more ill-boding sign to a nation, God turn the omen from us! than when the inhabitants, to avoid insufferable grievances at home, are enforced by heaps to forsake their native country.

Now, whereas the only remedy and amends against the depopulation and thinness of a land within, is the borrowed strength of firm alliance from without, these priestly policies of theirs having thus exhausted our domestic forces, have gone the way also to leave us as naked of our firmest and faithfullest neighbours abroad, by disparaging and alienating from us all protestant princes and commonwealths, who are not ignorant that our prelates, and as many as they can infect, account them no better than a sort of sacrilegious and puritanical rebels, preferring the Spaniard our deadly enemy before them, and set all orthodox writers at nought in comparison of the Jesuits, who are indeed the only corrupters of youth and good learning; and I have heard many wise and learned men in Italy say as much. It cannot be that the strongest knot of confederacy should not daily slacken, when religion, which is the chief engagement of our league, shall be turned to their reproach. Hence it is that the prosperous and prudent states of the United Provinces, whom we ought to love, if not for themselves, yet for our own good work in them, they having been in a manner planted

and erected by us, and having been since to us the faithful watchmen and discoverers of many a popish and Austrian complotted treason, and with us the partners of many a bloody and victorious battle; whom the similitude of manners and language, the commodity of traffic, which founded the old Burgundian league betwixt us, but chiefly religion, should bind to us immortally; even such friends as these, out of some principles instilled into us by the prelates, have been often dismissed with distasteful answers, and sometimes unfriendly actions. Nor is it to be considered to the breach of confederate nations, whose mutual interest is of such high consequence, though their merchants bicker in the East Indies; neither is it safe, or wary, or indeed christianly, that the French king, of a different faith, should afford our nearest allies as good protection as we. Sir, I persuade myself, if our zeal to true religion, and the brotherly usage of our truest friends, were as notorious to the world, as our prelatical schism and captivity to rochet apothegms, we had ere this seen our old conquerors, and afterwards liegemen, the Normans, together with the Britons, our proper colony, and all the Gascoins that are the rightful dowry of our ancient kings, come with cap and knee, desiring the shadow of the English sceptre to defend them from the hot persecutions and taxes of the French. But when they come hither, and see a tympany of Spaniolized bishops swaggering in the foretop of the state, and meddling to turn and dandle the royal ball with unskilful and pedantic palms, no marvel though they think it as unsafe to commit religion and liberty to their arbitrating as to a synagogue of Jesuits.

But what do I stand reckoning upon advantages and gains lost by the misrule and turbulency of the prelates? What do I pick up so thriftily their scatter-

ings and diminishings of the meaner subject, whilst they by their seditious practices have endangered to lose the king one third of his main stock? What have they not done to banish him from his own native country? But to speak of this as it ought, would ask a volume by itself.

Thus as they have unpeopled the kingdom by expulsion of so many thousands, as they have endeavoured to lay the skirts of it bare by disheartening and dishonoring our loyalest confederates abroad, so have they hamstrung the valor of the subject by seeking to effeminate us all at home. Well knows every wise nation that their liberty consists in manly and honest labors, in sobriety and rigorous honor to the marriage-bed, which in both sexes should be bred up from chaste hopes to loyal enjoyments; and when the people slacken, and fall to looseness and riot, then do they as much as if they laid down their necks for some wild tyrant to get up and ride. Thus learnt Cyrus to tame the Lydians, whom by arms he could not whilst they kept themselves from luxury; with one easy proclamation to set up stews, dancing, feasting and dicing, he made them soon his slaves. I know not what drift the prelates had, whose brokers they were, to prepare and supple us either for a foreign invasion or domestic oppression; but this I am sure, they took the ready way to despoil us both of manhood and grace at once, and that in the shamefullest and ungodliest manner, upon that day which God's law, and even our own reason hath consecrated, that we might have one day at least of seven set apart wherein to examine and increase our knowledge of God, to meditate and commune of our faith, our hope, our eternal city in heaven, and to quicken withal the study and exercise of charity; at such a time that men should be plucked from their soberest and

saddest thoughts, and by bishops, the pretended fathers of the church, instigated, by public edict, and with earnest endeavour pushed forward to gaming, jigging, wassailing and mixed dancing, is a horror to think! Thus did the reprobate hireling priest Balaam seek to subdue the Israelites to Moab, if not by force, then by this devilish policy, to draw them from the sanctuary of God to the luxurious and ribald feasts of Baal-peor. Thus have they trespassed, not only against the monarchy of England, but of heaven also, as others, I doubt not, can prosecute against them.

I proceed within my own bounds to show you next what good agents they are about the revenues and riches of the kingdom, which declares of what moment they are to monarchy, or what avail. Two leeches they have that still suck, and suck the kingdom; their ceremonies and their courts. If any man will contend that ceremonies be lawful under the gospel, he may be answered otherwhere. This, doubtless, that they ought to be many and overcostly, no true protestant will affirm. Now I appeal to all wise men, what an excessive waste of treasure hath been within these few years in this land, not in the expedient, but in the idolatrous erection of temples beautified exquisitely to outvie the papists, the costly and dearbought scandals and snares of images, pictures, rich copes, gorgeous altarcloths; and by the courses they took and the opinions they held, it was not likely any stay would be, or any end of their madness, where a pious pretext is so ready at hand to cover their insatiate desires. What can we suppose this will come to? What other materials than these have built up the spiritual Babel to the height of her abominations? Believe it, sir, right truly it may be said, that Antichrist is Mammon's son. The sour leaven of human traditions, mixed in one putrified mass with the poison-

ous dregs of hypocrisy in the hearts of prelates, that lie basking in the sunny warmth of wealth and promotion, is the serpent's egg that will hatch an Antichrist wheresoever, and engender the same monster as big, or little, as the lump is which breeds him. If the splendor of gold and silver begin to lord it once again in the church of England, we shall see Antichrist shortly wallow here, though his chief kennel be at Rome. If they had one thought upon God's glory, and the advancement of christian faith, they would be a means that with these expenses, thus profusely thrown away in trash, rather churches and schools might be built, where they cry out for want, and more added where too few are; a moderate maintenance distributed to every painful minister, that now scarce sustains his family with bread, while the prelates revel like Belshazzar with their full carouses in goblets, and vessels of gold snatched from God's temple; which, I hope, the worthy men of our land will consider.

Now then for their courts. What a mass of money is drawn from the veins into the ulcers of the kingdom this way, their extortions, their open corruptions, the multitude of hungry and ravenous harpies that swarm about their offices declare sufficiently. And what though all this go not over sea? It were better it did; better a penurious kingdom, than where excessive wealth flows into the graceless and injurious hands of common sponges, to the impoverishing of good and loyal men, and that by such execrable, such irreligious courses. If the sacred and dreadful works of holy discipline, censure, penance, excommunication and absolution, where no profane thing ought to have access, nothing to be assistant but sage and christianly admonition, brotherly love, flaming charity and zeal, and then according to the effects, paternal sorrow or paternal joy, mild severity, melting compassion; if

such divine ministeries as these, wherein the angel of the church represents the person of Christ Jesus, must lie prostitute to sordid fees, and not pass to and fro between our Saviour that of free grace redeemed us, and the submissive penitent, without the truckage of perishing coin and the butcherly execution of tormentors, rooks, and rakeshames sold to lucre, then have the Babylonish merchants of souls just excuse.

Hitherto, sir, you have heard how the prelates have weakened and withdrawn the external accomplishments of kingly prosperity, the love of the people, their multitude, their valor, their wealth; mining and sapping the outworks and redoubts of monarchy. Now hear how they strike at the very heart and vitals. We know that monarchy is made up of two parts, the liberty of the subject, and the supremacy of the king. I begin at the root. See what gentle and benign fathers they have been to our liberty! Their trade being by the same alchymy that the pope uses, to extract heaps of gold and silver out of the drossy bullion of the people's sins; and justly fearing that the quicksighted protestant's eye, cleared in great part from the mist of superstition, may at one time or other look with a good judgment into these their deceitful pedleries; to gain as many associates of guiltiness as they can, and to infect the temporal magistrate with the like lawless, though not sacrilegious extortion, see a while what they do; they engage themselves to preach, and persuade an assertion for truth the most false, and to this monarchy the most pernicious and destructive that could be chosen. What more baneful to monarchy than a popular commotion? for the dissolution of monarchy slides aptest into a democracy; and what stirs the Englishmen, as our wisest writers have observed, sooner to rebellion, than violent and

heavy hands upon their goods and purses? Yet these devout prelates, spite of our great charter, and the souls of our progenitors that wrested their liberties out of the Norman gripe with their dearest blood and highest prowess, for these many years have not ceased in their pulpits wrenching and spraining the text, to set at nought and trample under foot all the most sacred and lifeblood laws, statutes and acts of parliament that are the holy covenant of union and marriage between the king and his realm, by proscribing and confiscating from us all the right we have to our own bodies, goods and liberties. What is this but to blow a trumpet, and proclaim a firecross to an hereditary and perpetual civil war? Thus much against the subjects liberty hath been assaulted by them. Now how they have spared supremacy, or are likely hereafter to submit to it, remains lastly to be considered.

The emulation that under the old law was in the king towards the priest, is now so come about in the gospel, that all the danger is to be feared from the priest to the king. Whilst the priest's office in the law was set out with an exterior lustre of pomp and glory, kings were ambitious to be priests; now priests, not perceiving the heavenly brightness and inward splendor of their more glorious evangelic ministry, with as great ambition affect to be kings, as in all their courses is easy to be observed. Their eyes ever imminent upon worldly matters, their desires ever thirsting after worldly employments, instead of diligent and fervent study in the Bible, they covet to be expert in canons and decretals, which may enable them to judge and interpose in temporal causes, however pretended ecclesiastical. Do they not hoard up pelf, seek to be potent in secular strength, in state affairs, in lands, lordships and demains, to sway and

carry all before them in high courts and privy councils, to bring into their grasp the high and principal offices of the kingdom? Have they not been bold of late to check the common law, to slight and brave the indiminishable majesty of our highest court, the law-giving and sacred parliament? Do they not plainly labor to exempt churchmen from the magistrate? yea, so presumptuously as to question and menace officers that represent the king's person for using their authority against drunken priests? The cause of protecting murderous clergymen was the first heart-burning that swelled up the audacious Becket to the pestilent and odious vexation of Henry the Second. Nay, more, have not some of their devoted scholars begun, I need not say to nibble, but openly to argue against the king's supremacy? Is not the chief of them accused out of his own book, and his late canons, to affect a certain unquestionable patriarchate, independent and unsubordinate to the crown? From whence, having first brought us to a servile estate of religion and manhood, and having predisposed his conditions with the pope, that lays claim to this land, or some Pepin of his own creating, it were all as likely for him to aspire to the monarchy among us, as that the pope could find means so on the sudden both to bereave the emperor of the Roman territory with the favor of Italy, and by an unexpected friend out of France, while he was in danger to lose his newgot purchase, beyond hope to leap into the fair exarchate of Ravenna.

A good while the pope subtly acted the lamb, writing to the emperor, 'my lord Tiberius, my lord Mauritius;' but no sooner did this his lord pluck at the images and idols, but he threw off his sheep's clothing, and started up a wolf, laying his paws upon the emperor's right, as forfeited to Peter. Why may

not we as well, having been forewarned at home by our renowned Chaucer, and from abroad by the great and learned Padre Paolo, from the like beginnings, as we see they are, fear the like events? Certainly a wise and provident king ought to suspect a hierarchy in his realm, being ever attended, as it is, with two such greedy purveyors, ambition and usurpation; I say, he ought to suspect a hierarchy to be as dangerous and derogatory from his crown as a tetrarchy or a heptarchy. Yet now that the prelates had almost attained to what their insolent and unbridled minds had hurried them, to thrust the laity under the despotical rule of the monarch, that they themselves might confine the monarch to a kind of pupillage under their hierarchy, observe but how their own principles combat one another, and supplant each one his fellow.

Having fitted us only for peace, and that a servile peace, by lessening our numbers, draining our estates, enfeebling our bodies, cowing our free spirits by those ways as you have heard, their impotent actions cannot sustain themselves the least moment, unless they would rouse us up to a war fit for Cain to be the leader of; an abhorred, a cursed, a fraternal war. England and Scotland, dearest brothers both in nature and in Christ, must be set to wade in one another's blood; and Ireland, our free denizen, upon the back of us both, as occasion should serve; a piece of service that the pope and all his factors have been compassing to do ever since the reformation.

But ever blessed be He, and ever glorified, that from his high watchtower in the heavens, discerning the crooked ways of perverse and cruel men, hath hitherto maimed and infatuated all their damnable inventions, and deluded their great wizards with a delusion fit for fools and children. Had God been so minded, he could have sent a spirit of mutiny amongst

us, as he did beween Abimelech and the Sechemites, to have made our funerals, and slain heaps more in number than the miserable surviving remnant; but He, when we least deserved, sent out a gentle gale and message of peace from the wings of those his cherubims that fan his mercyseat. Nor shall the wisdom, the moderation, the christian piety, the constancy of our nobility and commons of England be ever forgotten, whose calm and temperate connivance could sit still and smile out the stormy bluster of men more audacious and precipitant than of solid and deep reach, till their own fury had run itself out of breath, assailing by rash and heady approaches the impregnable situation of our liberty and safety, that laughed such weak enginery to scorn, such poor drifts to make a national war of a surplice brabble, a tippet scuffle, and engage the untainted honor of English knighthood to unfurl the streaming red cross, or to rear the horrid standard of those fatal guly dragons for so unworthy a purpose, as to force upon their fellow subjects that which themselves are weary of, the skeleton of a mass book. Nor must the patience, the fortitude, the firm obedience of the nobles and people of Scotland, striving against manifold provocations; nor must their sincere and moderate proceedings hitherto be unremembered, to the shameful conviction of all their detractors.

Go on both hand in hand, O Nations, never to be disunited; be the praise and the heroic song of all posterity; merit this, but seek only virtue, not to extend your limits, (for what needs to win a fading triumphant laurel out of the tears of wretched men?) but to settle the pure worship of God in his church, and justice in the state. Then shall the hardest difficulties smooth out themselves before ye; envy shall sink to hell, craft and malice be confounded, whether it be home-

bred mischief or outlandish cunning; yea, other nations will then covet to serve ye, for lordship and victory are but the pages of justice and virtue. Commit securely to true wisdom the vanquishing and uncasing of craft and subtilty, which are but her two runagates. Join your invincible might to do worthy and godlike deeds; and then he that seeks to break your union, a cleaving curse be his inheritance to all generations.

Sir, you have now at length this question for the time and as my memory would best serve me in such a copious and vast theme, fully handled, and you yourself may judge whether prelacy be the only church government agreeable to monarchy. Seeing therefore the perilous and confused estate into which we are fallen, and that to the certain knowledge of all men, through the irreligious pride and hateful tyranny of prelates, as the innumerable and grievous complaints of every shire cry out, if we will now resolve to settle affairs either according to pure religion or sound policy, we must first of all begin roundly to cashier and cut away from the public body the noisome and diseased tumor of prelacy, and come from schism to unity with our neighbour reformed sister churches, which with the blessing of peace and pure doctrine have now long time flourished and doubtless with all hearty joy and gratulation will meet and welcome our christian union with them, as they have been all this while grieved at our strangeness, and little better than separation from them. And for the discipline propounded, seeing that it hath been inevitably proved that the natural and fundamental causes of political happiness in all governments are the same, and that this church discipline is taught in the word of God, and, as we see, agrees according to wish with all such states as have received it; we may infallibly

assure ourselves that it will as well agree with monarchy, though all the tribe of aphorismers and politicasters would persuade us there be secret and mysterious reasons against it. For, upon the settling hereof, mark what nourishing and cordial restorements to the state will follow; the ministers of the gospel attending only to the work of salvation, every one within his limited charge; besides the diffusive blessings of God upon all our actions, the king shall sit without an old disturber, a daily incroacher and intruder; shall rid his kingdom of a strong sequestered and collateral power, a confronting mitre, whose potent wealth and wakeful ambition he had just cause to hold in jealousy; not to repeat the other present evils which only their removal will remove, and because things simply pure are inconsistent in the mass of nature, nor are the elements or humors in a man's body exactly homogeneal; and hence the best founded commonwealths and least barbarous have aimed at a certain mixture and temperament, partaking the several virtues of each other state, that each part drawing to itself may keep up a steady and even uprightness in common.

There is no civil government that hath been known, no, not the Spartan, not the Roman, though both for this respect so much praised by the wise Polybius, more divinely and harmoniously tuned, more equally balanced as it were by the hand and scale of justice, than is the commonwealth of England; where, under a free and untutored monarch, the noblest, worthiest and most prudent men, with full approbation and suffrage of the people, have in their power the supreme and final determination of highest affairs. Now if conformity of church discipline to the civil be so desired, there can be nothing more parallel, more uniform, than when under the sovereign prince, Christ's

vicegerent, using the sceptre of David according to God's law, the godliest, the wisest, the learnedest ministers in their several charges have the instructing and disciplining of God's people, by whose full and free election they are consecrated to that holy and equal aristocracy. And why should not the piety and conscience of Englishmen, as members of the church, be trusted in the election of pastors to functions that nothing concern a monarch, as well as their worldly wisdoms are privileged as members of the state in suffraging their knights and burgesses to matters that concern him nearly? And if in weighing these several offices, their difference in time and quality be cast in, I know they will not turn the beam of equal judgment the moiety of a scruple. We therefore having already a kind of apostolical and ancient church election in our state, what a perverseness would it be in us of all others to retain forcibly a kind of imperious and stately election in our church? And what a blindness to think that what is already evangelical, as it were by a happy chance in our polity, should be repugnant to that which is the same by divine command in the ministry? Thus then we see that our ecclesial and political choices may consent and sort as well together without any rupture in the state, as christians and freeholders. But as for honor, that ought indeed to be different and distinct, as either office looks a several way; the minister whose calling and end is spiritual, ought to be honored as a father and physician to the soul, if he be found to be so, with a sonlike and disciplelike reverence, which is indeed the dearest and most affectionate honor, most to be desired by a wise man, and such as will easily command a free and plentiful provision of outward necessaries, without his further care of this world.

The magistrate, whose charge is to see to our persons and estates, is to be honored with a more elaborate and personal courtship, with large salaries and stipends, that he himself may abound in those things whereof his legal justice and watchful care gives us the quiet enjoyment. And this distinction of honor will bring forth a seemly and graceful uniformity over all the kingdom.

Then shall the nobles possess all the dignities and offices of temporal honor to themselves, sole lords without the improper mixture of scholastic and pusillanimous upstarts; the parliament shall void her upper house of the same annoyances; the common and civil laws shall be both set free, the former from the control, the other from the mere vassalage and copyhold of the clergy.

And whereas temporal laws rather punish men when they have transgressed, than form them to be such as should transgress seldomest, we may conceive great hopes, through the showers of divine benediction watering the unmolested and watchful pains of the ministry, that the whole inheritance of God will grow up so straight and blameless, that the civil magistrate may with far less toil and difficulty, and far more ease and delight, steer the tall and goodly vessel of the commonwealth through all the gusts and tides of the world's mutability.

Here I might have ended, but that some objections, which I have heard commonly flying about, press me to the endeavour of an answer. We must not run, they say, into sudden extremes. This is a fallacious rule, unless understood only of the actions of virtue about things indifferent; for if it be found that those two extremes be vice and virtue, falsehood and truth, the greater extremity of virtue and superlative truth we run into, the more virtuous and the more wise we

become; and he that flying from degenerate and traditional corruption, fears to shoot himself too far into the meeting embraces of a divinely warranted reformation, had better not have run at all. And for the suddenness, it cannot be feared. Who should oppose it? The papists? They dare not. The protestants otherwise affected? They were mad. There is nothing will be removed but what to them is professedly indifferent. The long affection which the people have borne to it, what for itself, what for the odiousness of prelates, is evident. From the first year of queen Elizabeth it hath still been more and more propounded, desired and beseeched, yea, sometimes favorably forwarded by the parliaments themselves. Yet if it were sudden and swift, provided still it be from worse to better, certainly we ought to hie us from evil like a torrent, and rid ourselves of corrupt discipline, as we would shake fire out of our bosoms. Speedy and vehement were the reformations of all the good kings of Judah, though the people had been nuzzled in idolatry ever so long before; they feared not the bugbear danger, nor the lion in the way that the sluggish and timorous politician thinks he sees; no more did our brethren of the reformed churches abroad; they ventured, God being their guide, out of rigid popery into that which we in mockery call precise puritanism, and yet we see no inconvenience befel them. Let us not dally with God when he offers us a full blessing, to take as much of it as we think will serve our ends and turn him back the rest upon his hands, lest in his anger he snatch all from us again.

Next, they allege the antiquity of episcopacy through all ages. What it was in the apostles' time, that questionless it must be still; and therein I trust the ministers will be able to satisfy the parliament. But if

episcopacy be taken for prelacy, all the ages they can deduce it through, will make it no more venerable than papacy. Most certain it is, as all our stories bear witness, that ever since their coming to the see of Canterbury for near twelve hundred years, to speak of them in general, they have been in England to our souls a sad and doleful succession of illiterate and blind guides; to our purses and goods a wasteful band of robbers, a perpetual havoc and rapine; to our state a continual hydra of mischief and molestation, the forge of discord and rebellion. This is the trophy of their antiquity, and boasted succession through so many ages.

And for those prelate martyrs they glory of, they are to be judged what they were by the gospel, and not the gospel to be tried by them. And it is to be noted, that if they were for bishoprics and ceremonies, it was in their prosperity and fulness of bread; but in their persecution, which purified them, and near their death, which was their garland, they plainly disliked and condemned the ceremonies, and threw away those episcopal ornaments wherein they were installed, as foolish and detestable; for so the words of Ridley at his degradement, and his letter to Hooper, expressly show. Neither doth the author of our church history spare to record sadly the fall, for so he terms it, and infirmities of these martyrs, though we would deify them. And why should their martyrdom more countenance corrupt doctrine or discipline, than their subscriptions justify their treason to the royal blood of this realm, by diverting and entailing the right of the crown from the true heirs, to the houses of Northumberland and Suffolk? which, had it took effect, this present king had in all likelihood never sat on this throne, and the happy union of this island had been frustrated.

Lastly, whereas they add that some the learnedest of the reformed abroad admire our episcopacy, it had been more for the strength of the argument to tell us, that some of the wisest statesmen admire it; for thereby we might guess them weary of the present discipline, as offensive to their state, which is the bug we fear; but, being they are churchmen, we may rather suspect them for some prelatizing spirits that admire our bishoprics, not episcopacy.

The next objection vanishes of itself, propounding a doubt whether a greater inconvenience would not grow from the corruption of any other discipline than from that of episcopacy. This seems an unseasonable foresight, and out of order, to defer and put off the most needful constitution of one right discipline, while we stand ballancing the discommodities of two corrupt ones. First constitute that which is right, and of itself it will discover and rectify that which swerves, and easily remedy the pretended fear of having a pope in every parish, unless we call the zealous and meek censure of the church a popedom, which whoso does, let him advise how he can reject the pastorly rod and sheephook of Christ, and those cords of love, and not fear to fall under the iron sceptre of his anger, that will dash him to pieces like a potsherd.

At another doubt of theirs I wonder, whether this discipline which we desire be such as can be put in practice within this kingdom; they say it cannot stand with the common law nor with the king's safety, the government of episcopacy is now so weaved into the common law. In God's name let it weave out again; let not human quillets keep back divine authority. It is not the common law, nor the civil, but piety and justice that are our foundresses; they stoop not, neither change color for aristocracy, democracy or

monarchy, nor yet at all interrupt their just courses; but, far above the taking notice of these inferior niceties, with perfect sympathy, wherever they meet, kiss each other.

Lastly, they are fearful that the discipline which will succeed cannot stand with the king's safety. Wherefore? It is but episcopacy reduced to what it should be. Were it not that the tyranny of prelates under the name of bishops had made our ears tender, and startling, we might call every good minister a bishop, as every bishop, yea, the apostles themselves are called ministers, and the angels ministering spirits, and the ministers again angels.

But wherein is this propounded government so shrewd? Because the government of assemblies will succeed. Did not the apostles govern the church by assemblies? How should it else be catholic? How should it have communion? We count it sacrilege to take from the rich prelates their lands and revenues, which is sacrilege in them to keep, using them as they do; and can we think it safe to defraud the living church of God of that right which God has given her in assemblies? O but the consequence! assemblies draw to them the supremacy of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. No surely; they draw no supremacy, but that authority which Christ, and St Paul in his name confers upon them. The king may still retain the same supremacy in the assemblies, as in the parliament; here he can do nothing alone against the common law, and there neither alone, nor with consent, against the scriptures. But is this all? No; this ecclesiastical supremacy draws to it the power to excommunicate kings; and then follows the worst that can be imagined. Do they hope to avoid this, by keeping prelates that have so often done it? Not to exemplify the malapert insolence of our own bish-

ops in this kind towards our kings, I shall turn back to the primitive and pure times, which the objectors would have the rule of reformation to us.

Not an assembly, but one bishop alone, Saint Ambrose of Milan, held Theodosius, the most christian emperor, under excommunication above eight months together, drove him from the church in the presence of his nobles; which the good emperor bore with heroic humility, and never ceased by prayers and tears, till he was absolved; for which coming to the bishop with supplication into the salutatory, some outporch of the church, he was charged by him of tyrannical madness against God, for coming into holy ground. At last, upon conditions absolved, and after great humiliation approaching to the altar to offer as those thrice pure times then thought meet, he had scarce withdrawn his hand, and stood a while, when a bold archdeacon comes in the bishop's name and chaces him from within the rails, telling him peremptorily, that the place wherein he stood, was for none but the priests to enter or to touch; and this is another piece of pure primitive divinity!

Think ye then our bishops will forego the power of excommunication on whomsoever? No, certainly, unless to compass sinister ends, and then revoke when they see their time. And yet this most mild, though withal dreadful and inviolable prerogative of Christ's diadem, excommunication, serves for nothing with them, but to prog and pander for fees, or to display their pride and sharpen their revenge, debarring men the protection of the law; and I remember not whether in some cases it bereave not men all right to their worldly goods and inheritances, besides the denial of christian burial. But, in the evangelical and reformed use of this sacred censure, no such prostitution, no such Iscariotical drifts are to be doubted, as that spiritual

doom and sentence should invade worldly possession, which is the rightful lot and portion even of the wickedest men, as frankly bestowed upon them by the alldispensing bounty as rain and sunshine. No, no; it seeks not to bereave or destroy the body; it seeks to save the soul by humbling the body, not by imprisonment, or pecuniary mulct, much less by stripes, or bonds, or disinheritance, but, by fatherly admonishment and christian rebuke, to cast it into godly sorrow, whose end is joy and ingenuous bashfulness to sin. If that cannot be wrought, then as a tender mother takes her child and holds it over the pit with scaring words, that it may learn to fear where danger is; so doth excommunication as dearly and as freely, without money, use her wholesome and saving terrors. She is instant, she beseeches, by all the dear and sweet promises of salvation she entices and woos; by all the threatenings and thunders of the law and rejected gospel, she charges, and adjures; this is all her armory, her munition, her artillery; then she awaits with longsufferance, and yet ardent zeal.

In brief, there is no act in all the errand of God's ministers to mankind, wherein passes more loverlike contestation between Christ and the soul of a regenerate man lapsing, than before, and in, and after the sentence of excommunication. As for the fogging proctorage of money, with such an eye as struck Gehazi with leprosy, and Simon Magus with a curse, so does she look, and so threaten her fiery whip against that banking den of thieves that dare thus baffle, and buy, and sell the awful and majestic wrinkles of her brow. He that is rightly and apostolically sped with her invisible arrow, if he can be at peace in his soul and not smell within him the brimstone of hell, may have fair leave to tell all his bags over undiminished of the least farthing, may eat his dainties, drink his wine, use his delights,

enjoy his lands and liberties, not the least skin raised, not the least hair misplaced, for all that excommunication has done. Much more may a king enjoy his rights and prerogatives undeflowered, untouched, and be as absolute and complete a king as all his royalties and revenues can make him. And therefore little did Theodosius fear a plot upon his empire, when he stood excommunicate by St Ambrose, though it were done either with much haughty pride or ignorant zeal.

But let us rather look upon the reformed churches beyond the seas, the Grizons, the Swisses, the Hollanders, the French, that have a supremacy to live under as well as we. Where do the churches in all these places strive for supremacy? Where do they clash and justle supremacies with the civil magistrate? In France, a more severe monarchy than ours, the protestants under this church government, carry the name of the best subjects the king has; and yet presbytery, if it must be so called, does there all that it desires to do. How easy were it, if there be such great suspicion, to give no more scope to it in England? But let us not, for fear of a scarecrow, or else through hatred to be reformed, stand hankering and politizing, when God with spread hands testifies to us, and points us out the way to our peace.

Let us not be so overcredulous, unless God hath blinded us, as to trust our dear souls into the hands of men that beg so devoutly for the pride and gluttony of their own backs and bellies, that sue and solicit so eagerly, not for the saving of souls, the consideration of which can have here no place at all, but for their bishoprics, deaneries, prebends and canonries. How can these men not be corrupt, whose very cause is the bribe of their own pleading, whose mouths cannot open without the strong breath and loud stench of avarice, simony and sacrilege, embezzling the trea-

sury of the church on painted and gilded walls of temples, wherein God hath testified to have no delight, warming their palace kitchens, and from thence their unctuous and epicurean paunches, with the alms of the blind, the lame, the impotent, the aged, the orphan, the widow? for with these the treasury of Christ ought to be, here must be his jewels bestowed, his rich cabinet must be emptied here, as the constant martyr, St Lawrence, taught the Roman prætor.

Sir, would you know what the remonstrance of these men would have, what their petition implies? They entreat us that we would not be weary of those insupportable grievances that our shoulders have hitherto cracked under; they beseech us that we would think them fit to be our justices of peace, our lords, our highest officers of state, though they come furnished with no more experience than they learned between the cook and the manciple, or more profoundly at the college audit, or the regent house, or, to come to their deepest insight, at their patron's table; they would request us to endure still the rustling of their silken cassocs, and that we would burst our midriffs, rather than laugh to see them under sail in all their lawn and sarcenet, their shrouds and tackle, with a geometrical rhomboides upon their heads; they would bear us in hand that we must of duty still appear before them once a year in Jerusalem, like good circumcised males and females, to be taxed by the poll, to be sconced our headmoney, our twopences in their chandlerly shopbook of Easter. They pray us that it would please us to let them still hale us, and worry us with their bandogs and pursuivants; and that it would please the parliament that they may yet have the whipping, fleecing, and flaying of us in their diabolical courts, to tear the flesh from our bones, and into our wide wounds, instead of balm, to pour in the

oil of tartar, vitriol, and mercury; surely a right reasonable, innocent, and softhearted petition. O the relenting bowels of the fathers! Can this be granted them, unless God have smitten us with frenzy from above, and with a dazzling giddiness at noonday? Should not those men rather be heard that come to plead against their own preferments, their worldly advantages, their own abundance, for honor and obedience to God's word, the conversion of souls, the christian peace of the land, and union of the reformed catholic church, the unappropriating and unmonopolizing the rewards of learning and industry from the greasy clutch of ignorance and high feeding? We have tried already, and miserably felt what ambition, worldly glory and immoderate wealth can do, what the boisterous and contradictional hand of a temporal, earthly and corporeal spirituality can avail to the edifying of Christ's holy church. Were it such a desperate hazard to put to the venture, the universal votes of Christ's congregation, the fellowly and friendly yoke of a teaching and laborious ministry, the pastorlike and apostolic imitation of meek and unlordly discipline, the gentle and benevolent mediocrity of church maintenance, without the ignoble hucksterage of piddling tithes? Were it such an incurable mischief to make a little trial, what all this would do to the flourishing and growing up of Christ's mystical body? as rather to use every poor shift, and if that serve not, to threaten uproar and combustion, and shake the brand of civil discord?

O, sir, I do now feel myself inwrapt on the sudden into those mazes and labyrinths of dreadful and hideous thoughts, that which way to get out, or which way to end, I know not, unless I turn mine eyes, and with your help lift up my hands to that eternal and propitious Throne, where nothing is readier than grace

and refuge to the distresses of mortal suppliants; and it were a shame to leave these serious thoughts less piously than the heathen were wont to conclude their graver discourses.

Thou, therefore, that sittest in light and glory unapproachable, Parent of angels and men! next, Thee I implore, omnipotent King, Redeemer of that lost remnant whose nature thou didst assume, ineffable and everlasting Love! and Thou, the third subsistence of divine infinitude, illumining Spirit, the joy and solace of created things! one tripersonal Godhead! look upon this thy poor and almost spent and expiring church; leave her not thus a prey to these importunate wolves, that wait and think long till they devour thy tender flock; these wild boars that have broke into thy vineyard, and left the print of their polluting hoofs on the souls of thy servants. O let them not bring about their damned designs, that stand now at the entrance of the bottomless pit, expecting the watchword to open and let out those dreadful locusts and scorpions, to reinvolve us in that pitchy cloud of infernal darkness, where we shall never more see the sun of thy truth again, never hope for the cheerful dawn, never more hear the bird of morning sing. Be moved with pity at the afflicted state of this our shaken monarchy, that now lies laboring under her throes, and struggling against the grudges of more dreaded calamities.

O Thou, that, after the impetuous rage of five bloody inundations, and the succeeding sword of intestine war, soaking the land in her own gore, didst pity the sad and ceaseless revolution of our swift and thick-coming sorrows; when we were quite breathless, of thy free grace didst motion peace, and terms of covenant with us; and having first wellnigh freed us from antichristian thraldom, didst build up this Bri-

tannic empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her daughter islands about her; stay us in this felicity, let not the obstinacy of our half obedience and willworship bring forth that viper of sedition, that for these fourscore years hath been breeding to eat through the entrails of our peace; but let her cast her abortive spawn without the danger of this travailing and throbbing kingdom; that we may still remember in our solemn thanksgivings, how for us the northern ocean even to the frozen Thule was scattered with the proud shipwrecks of the Spanish armada, and the very maw of hell ransacked and made to give up her concealed destruction, ere she could vent it in that horrible and damned blast.

O how much more glorious will those former deliverances appear, when we shall know them not only to have saved us from greatest miseries past, but to have reserved us for greatest happiness to come! Hitherto thou hast but freed us, and that not fully, from the unjust and tyrannous claim of thy foes; now unite us entirely, and appropriate us to thyself, tie us everlastingly in willing homage to the prerogative of thy eternal throne.

And now we know, O Thou, our most certain hope and defence, that thine enemies have been consulting all the sorceries of the great whore, and have joined their plots with that sad intelligencing tyrant that mischiefs the world with his mines of Ophir and lies thirsting to revenge his naval ruins that have larded our seas; but let them all take counsel together, and let it come to nought; let them decree, and do thou cancel it; let them gather themselves, and be scattered; let them embattle themselves, and be broken; let them embattle, and be broken, for thou art with us.

Then, amidst the hymns and hallelujahs of saints, some one may perhaps be heard offering at high

strains in new and lofty measures, to sing and celebrate thy divine mercies, and marvellous judgments in this land throughout all ages, whereby this great and warlike nation, instructed and inured to the fervent and continual practice of truth and righteousness, and casting far from her the rags of her old vices, may press on hard to that high and happy emulation to be found the soberest, wisest and most christian people at that day, when Thou, the eternal and shortly expected King, shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of the world, and distributing national honors and rewards to religious and just commonwealths, shall put an end to all earthly tyrannies, proclaiming thy universal and mild monarchy through heaven and earth; where they undoubtedly, that by their labors, counsels and prayers, have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country, shall receive above the inferior orders of the blessed, the regal addition of principalities, legions, and thrones into their glorious titles, and, in supereminence of beatific vision, progressing the dateless and irrevoluble circle of eternity, shall clasp inseparable hands with joy and bliss, in overmeasure for ever.

But they contrary, that by the impairing and diminution of the true faith, the distresses and servitude of their country, aspire to high dignity, rule and promotion here, after a shameful end in this life, which God grant them, shall be thrown down eternally into the darkest and deepest gulf of hell, where, under the despiteful control, the trample and spurn of all the other damned that in the anguish of their torture shall have no other ease than to exercise a raving and bestial tyranny over them as their slaves and negroes, they shall remain in that plight for ever, the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, most underfoot, and downtrodden vassals of perdition.

OF

PRELATICAL EPISCOPACY,

AND

WHETHER IT MAY BE DEDUCED FROM THE APOSTOLICAL TIMES, BY VIRTUE OF THOSE TESTIMONIES WHICH ARE ALLEGED TO THAT PURPOSE IN SOME LATE TREATISES; ONE WHEREOF GOES UNDER THE NAME OF JAMES, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

EPISCOPACY, as it is taken for an order in the church above a presbyter, or as we commonly name him, the minister of a congregation, is either of divine constitution, or of human. If only of human, we have the same human privilege that all men have ever had since Adam, being born free and in the mistress island of all the British, to retain this episcopacy or to remove it, consulting with our own occasions and conveniences, and for the prevention of our own dangers and disquiets, in what best manner we can devise, without running at a loss, as we must needs, in those stale and useless records of either uncertain or unsound antiquity; which, if we hold fast to the grounds of the reformed church, can neither skill of us, nor we of it, so oft as it would lead us to the broken reed of tradition.

If it be of divine constitution, to satisfy us fully in that, the scripture only is able, it being the only book left us of divine authority, not in any thing more divine than in the allsufficiency it hath to furnish us, as with all other spiritual knowledge, so with this in particular, setting out to us a perfect man of God, accomplished

to all the good works of his charge; through all which book can be no where, either by plain text, or solid reasoning, found any difference between a bishop and a presbyter, save that they be two names to signify the same order.

Notwithstanding this clearness, and that by all evidence of argument Timothy and Titus, whom our prelates claim to imitate only in the controlling part of their office, had rather the vicegerency of an apostleship committed to them, than the ordinary charge of a bishopric, as being men of an extraordinary calling; yet, to verify that which St Paul foretold of succeeding times, when men began to have itching ears, then not contented with the plentiful and wholesome fountains of the gospel, they began after their own lusts to heap to themselves teachers, and as if the divine scripture wanted a supplement and were to be eked out, they cannot think any doubt resolved and any doctrine confirmed, unless they run to that indigested heap and fry of authors, which they call antiquity. Whatsoever time, or the heedless hand of blind chance, hath drawn down from of old to this present, in her huge dragnet, whether fish or seaweed, shells or shrubs, unpicked, unchosen, those are the fathers. Seeing, therefore, some men, deeply conversant in books, have had so little care of late to give the world a better account of their reading, than by divulging needless tractates, stuffed with specious names of Ignatius and Polycarpus, with fragments of old martyrologies and legends, to distract and stagger the multitude of credulous readers, and mislead them from their strong guards and places of safety under the tuition of holy writ; it came into my thoughts to persuade myself, setting all distances and nice respects aside, that I could do religion and my country no better service for the time, than doing my utmost

endeavour to recall the people of God from this vain foraging after straw, and to reduce them to their firm stations under the standard of the gospel, by making appear to them, first the insufficiency, next the inconvenience, and lastly the impiety of these gay testimonies that their great doctors would bring them to dote on. And in performing this, I shall not strive to be more exact in method, than as their citations lead me.

First, therefore, concerning Ignatius shall be treated fully, when the author shall come to insist upon some places in his epistles. Next, to prove a succession of twentyseven bishops from Timothy, he cites one Leontius, bishop of Magnesia, out of the eleventh act of the Chalcedonian council. This is but an obscure and single witness, and, for his faithful dealing, who shall commend him to us, with this his catalogue of bishops? What know we further of him, but that he might be as factious and false a bishop as Leontius of Antioch, that was a hundred years his predecessor? For neither the praise of his wisdom, or his virtue, hath left him memorable to posterity, but only this doubtful relation, which we must take at his word; and how shall this testimony receive credit from his word, whose very name had scarce been thought on but for this bare testimony?

But they will say he was a member of the council, and that may deserve to gain him credit with us. I will not stand to argue, as yet with fair allowance I might, that we may as justly suspect there were some bad and slippery men in that council, as we know there are wont to be in our convocations; nor shall I need to plead at this time, that nothing hath been more attempted, nor with more subtilty brought about, both anciently by other heretics and modernly by papists, than to falsify the editions of the councils, of

which we have none but from our adversaries' hands, whence canons, acts, and whole spurious councils are thrust upon us; and hard it would be to prove in all, which are legitimate, against the lawful rejection of an urgent and free disputer. But this I purpose not to take advantage of; for what avails it to wrangle about the corrupt editions of councils, whenas we know that many years ere this time, which was almost five hundred years after Christ, the councils themselves were foully corrupted with ungodly prelatism, and so far plunged into worldly ambition as that it stood them upon long ere this to uphold their now well tasted hierarchy by what fair pretext soever they could, in like manner as they had now learned to defend many other gross corruptions by as ancient and supposed authentic tradition as episcopacy? And what hope can we have of this whole council to warrant us a matter, four hundred years at least above their time, concerning the distinction of bishop and presbyter, whenas we find them such blind judges of things before their eyes, in their decrees of precedency between bishop and bishop, acknowledging Rome for the apostolic throne, and Peter, in that see, for the rock, the basis, and the foundation of the catholic church and faith, contrary to the interpretation of more ancient fathers? And therefore from a mistaken text did they give to Leo, as Peter's successor, a kind of preeminence above the whole council, as Euagrius expresses; for now the pope was come to that height as to arrogate to himself by his vicars incompetible honors; and yet having thus yielded to Rome the universal primacy for spiritual reasons, as they thought, they conclude their sitting with a carnal and ambitious decree, to give the second place of dignity to Constantinople from reason of state, because it was New Rome; and by like consequence doubt-

less of earthly privileges annexed to each other city, was the bishop thereof to take his place.

I may say again, therefore, what hope can we have of such a council, as beginning in the spirit, ended thus in the flesh? Much rather should we attend to what Eusebius, the ancientest writer extant of church history, notwithstanding all the helps he had above these, confesses in the fourth chapter of his third book, That it was no easy matter to tell who were those that were left bishops of the churches by the apostles, more than by what a man might gather from The Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles of St Paul, in which number he reckons Timothy for bishop of Ephesus; so as may plainly appear, that this tradition of bishoping Timothy over Ephesus, was but taken for granted out of that place in St Paul, which was only an intreating him to tarry at Ephesus, to do something left him in charge. Now if Eusebius, a famous writer, thought it so difficult to tell who were appointed bishops by the apostles, much more may we think it difficult to Leontius, an obscure bishop, speaking beyond his own diocese; and certainly much more hard was it for either of them to determine what kind of bishops these were, if they had so little means to know who they were; and much less reason have we to stand to their definitive sentence, seeing they have been so rash to raise up such lofty bishops and bishoprics out of places in scripture merely misunderstood. Thus, while we leave the Bible to gad after the traditions of the ancients, we hear the ancients themselves confessing, that what knowledge they had in this point was such as they had gathered from the Bible.

Since, therefore, antiquity itself hath turned over the controversy to that sovereign book which we had fondly straggled from, we shall do better not to detain

this venerable apparition of Leontius any longer, but dismiss him with his list of seven and twenty, to sleep unmolested in his former obscurity.

Now for the word προιστὰς, it is more likely that Timothy never knew the word in that sense. It was the vanity of those next succeeding times not to content themselves with the simplicity of scripture phrase, but must make a new lexicon to name themselves by; one will be called προιστὰς, or antistes, a word of precedence; another would be termed a gnostic, as Clemens; a third, sacerdos, or priest, and talks of altars; which was a plain sign that their doctrine began to change, for which they must change their expressions. But that place of Justin Martyr serves rather to convince the author, than to make for him, where the name προιστὰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν, the president or pastor of the brethren, (for to what end is he their president, but to teach them?) cannot be limited to signify a prelatical bishop, but rather communicates that Greek appellation to every ordinary presbyter; for there he tells what the christians had wont to do in their several congregations, to read and expound, to pray and administer, all which he says the προιστὰς, or antistes, did. Are these the offices only of a bishop, or shall we think that every congregation where these things were done, which he attributes to this antistes, had a bishop present among them? unless they had as many antistites as presbyters, which this place rather seems to imply; and so we may infer even from their own alleged authority, 'that antistes was nothing else but presbyter.'

As for that nameless treatise of Timothy's martyrdom, only cited by Photius that lived almost nine hundred years after Christ, it handsomely follows in that author the martyrdom of the seven sleepers that slept, I tell you but what mine author says, three hundred

seventy and two years; for so long they had been shut up in a cave without meat, and were found living. This story of Timothy's Ephesian bishopric, as it follows in order, so may it for truth, if it only subsist upon its own authority, as it doth; for Photius only saith he read it, he does not aver it.

That other legendary piece found among the lives of the saints, and sent us from the shop of the Jesuits at Louvain, does but bear the name of Polycrates, how truly, who can tell? and shall have some more weight with us, when Polycrates can persuade us of that which he affirms in the same place of Eusebius's fifth book, that St John was a priest, and wore the golden breast-plate. And why should he convince us more with his traditions of Timothy's episcopacy, than he could convince Victor, bishop of Rome, with his traditions concerning the feast of Easter, who not regarding his irrefragable instances of examples taken from Philip and his daughters that were prophetesses, or from Polycarpus, no, nor from St John himself, excommunicated both him, and all the Asian churches, for celebrating their Easter Judaically? He may therefore go back to the seven bishops, his kinsmen, and make his moan to them that we esteem his traditional ware as lightly as Victor did.

Those of Theodoret, Felix, and John of Antioch, are authorities of later times, and therefore not to be received for their antiquity's sake to give in evidence concerning an allegation, wherein writers so much their elders, we see so easily miscarry. What if they had told us that Peter, who, as they say, left Ignatius bishop of Antioch, went afterwards to Rome and was bishop there, as this Ignatius and Irenæus and all antiquity with one mouth deliver? There be nevertheless a number of learned and wise protestants, who have written and will maintain, that Peter's being at

Rome as bishop cannot stand with concordance of scripture.

Now come the epistles of Ignatius to show us, first, that Onesimus was bishop of Ephesus; next, to assert the difference of bishop and presbyter; wherein I wonder that men, teachers of the protestant religion, make no more difficulty of imposing upon our belief a supposititious offspring of some dozen epistles, whereof five are rejected as spurious, containing in them heresies and trifles; which cannot agree in chronology with Ignatius, entitling him archbishop of Antioch Theopolis, which name of Theopolis that city had not till Justinian's time, long after, as Cedrenus mentions; which argues both the barbarous time and the unskilful fraud of him that foisted this epistle upon Ignatius. In the epistle to those of Tarsus, he condemns them for ministers of Satan, that say, 'Christ is God above all.' To the Philippians, them that kept their Easter as the Asian churches, as Polycarpus did, and them that fasted upon any Saturday or Sunday except one, he counts as those that had slain the Lord. To those of Antioch, he salutes the subdeacons, chaunters, porters, and exorcists as if these had been orders of the church in his time. Those other epistles less questioned, are yet so interlarded with corruptions, as may justly endue us with a wholesome suspicion of the rest. As to the Trallians, he writes, that, 'a bishop hath power over all beyond all government and authority whatsoever.' Surely then no pope can desire more than Ignatius attributes to every bishop; but what will become then of the archbishops and primates, if every bishop in Ignatius's judgment be as supreme as a pope? To the Ephesians, near the very place from whence they fetch their proof for episcopacy, there stands a line that casts an ill hue upon all the epistle; 'Let no man err;' saith he,

'unless a man be within the rays or enclosure of the altar, he is deprived of the bread of life.' I say not but this may be stretched to a figurative construction; but yet it has an ill look, especially being followed beneath with the mention of I know not what sacrifices. In the other epistle to Smyrna, wherein is written that 'they should follow their bishop as Christ did his Father, and the presbytery as the apostles;' not to speak of the insulse and ill laid comparison, this cited place lies upon the very brim of a noted corruption, which had they that quote this passage ventured to let us read, all men would have readily seen what grain the testimony had been of, where it is said, 'that it is not lawful without a bishop to baptize, nor to offer, nor to do sacrifice.' What can our church make of these phrases but scandalous? And but a little further he plainly falls to contradict the spirit of God in Solomon, judged by the words themselves; 'My son,' saith he, 'honor God and the king; but I say, honor God and the bishop as highpriest, bearing the image of God according to his ruling, and of Christ according to his priesting, and after him honor the king.' Excellent Ignatius! Can ye blame the prelates for making much of this epistle? Certainly if this epistle can serve you to set a bishop above a presbyter, it may serve you next to set him above a king.

These, and other like places in abundance through all those short epistles, must either be adulterate, or else Ignatius was not Ignatius nor a martyr, but most adulterate and corrupt himself. In the midst, therefore, of so many forgeries, where shall we fix to dare say this is Ignatius? As for his style, who knows it, so disfigured and interrupted as it is, except they think that where they meet with any thing sound and orthodoxal, there they find Ignatius? And then

they believe him, not for his own authority, but for a truth's sake, which they derive from elsewhere. To what end then should they cite him as authentic for episcopacy, when they cannot know what is authentic in him, but by the judgment which they brought with them, and not by any judgment which they might safely learn from him? How can they bring satisfaction from such an author, to whose very essence the reader must be fain to contribute his own understanding? Had God ever intended that we should have sought any part of useful instruction from Ignatius, doubtless he would not have so ill provided for our knowledge, as to send him to our hands in this broken and disjointed plight; and if he intended no such thing, we do injuriously in thinking to taste better the pure evangelic manna by seasoning our mouths with the tainted scraps and fragments of an unknown table, and searching among the verminous and polluted rags dropped overworn from the toiling shoulders of time, with these deformedly to quilt and interlace the entire, the spotless and undecaying robe of truth, the daughter, not of time, but of heaven, only bred up here below in christian hearts between two grave and holy nurses, the doctrine and discipline of the gospel.

Next follows Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, who is cited to affirm, that Polycarpus 'was made bishop of Smyrna by the apostles;' and this, it may seem, none could better tell than he who had both seen and heard Polycarpus; but when did he hear him? himself confesses to Florinus, when he was a boy. Whether that age in Irenæus may not be liable to many mistakings, and whether a boy may be trusted to take an exact account of the manner of a church constitution, and upon what terms, and within what limits, and with what kind of commission Polycarpus received his charge, let a man consider, ere he be credulous.

It will not be denied that he might have seen Polycarpus in his youth, a man of great eminence in the church, to whom the other presbyters might give way for his virtue, wisdom, and the reverence of his age; and so did Anicetus, bishop of Rome, even in his own city, give him a kind of priority in administering the sacrament, as may be read in Eusebius; but that we should hence conclude a distinct and superior order from the young observation of Irenæus, nothing yet alleged can warrant us; unless we shall believe such as would face us down, that Calvin, and after him Beza, were bishops of Geneva, because that in the unsettled state of the church, while things were not fully composed, their worth and learning cast a greater share of business upon them, and directed men's eyes principally towards them; and yet these men were the dissolvers of episcopacy. We see the same necessity in state affairs. Brutus that expelled the kings out of Rome, was for the time forced to be as it were a king himself, till matters were set in order, as in a free commonwealth. He that had seen Pericles lead the Athenians which way he listed, haply would have said he had been their prince; and yet he was but a powerful and eloquent man in a democracy and had no more at any time than a temporary and elective sway, which was in the will of the people when to abrogate. And it is most likely that in the church, they which came after these apostolic men, being less in merit, but bigger in ambition, strove to invade those privileges by intrusion and plea of right, which Polycarpus, and others like him, possessed from the voluntary surrender of men subdued by the excellency of their heavenly gifts; which because their successors had not and so could neither have that authority, it was their policy to divulge that the eminence which Polycarpus and his equals enjoyed, was by right of

constitution, not by free will of condescending. And yet thus far Irenæus makes against them, as in that very place to call Polycarpus an apostolical presbyter. But what fidelity his relations had in general, we cannot sooner learn than by Eusebius, who near the end of his third book, speaking of Papias, a very ancient writer, one that had heard St John and was known to many that had seen and been acquainted with others of the apostles, but being of a shallow wit and not understanding those traditions which he received, filled his writings with many new doctrines and fabulous conceits; he tells us there, that 'divers ecclesiastical men, and Irenæus among the rest, while they looked at his antiquity, became infected with his errors.'

Now, if Irenæus were so rash as to take unexamined opinions from an author of so small capacity when he was a man, we should be more rash ourselves to rely upon those observations which he made when he was a boy. And this may be a sufficient reason to us why we need no longer muse at the spreading of many idle traditions so soon after the apostles, whilst such as this Papias had the throwing them about, and the inconsiderate zeal of the next age, that heeded more the person than the doctrine, had the gathering them up. Wherever a man, who had been any way conversant with the apostles, was to be found, thither flew all the inquisitive ears, although the exercise of right instructing was changed into the curiosity of impertinent fabling; where the mind was to be edified with solid doctrine, there the fancy was soothed with solemn stories; with less fervency was studied what St Paul or St John had written, than was listened to one that could say here he taught, here he stood, this was his stature, and thus he went habited, and O happy this house that harboured him, and that cold stone whereon he rested, this village wherein he wrought such a mira-

cle, and that pavement bedewed with the warm effusion of his last blood that sprouted up into eternal roses to crown his martyrdom. Thus, while all their thoughts were poured out upon circumstances, and the gazing after such men as had sat at table with the apostles, many of which Christ hath professed, yea, though they had cast out devils in his name, he will not know at the last day, by this means they lost their time and truanted in the fundamental grounds of saving knowledge, as was seen shortly by their writings.

Lastly, for Irenæus, we have cause to think him less judicious in his reports from hand to hand of what the apostles did, when we find him so negligent in keeping the faith which they wrote, as to say in his third book against heresies, that 'the obedience of Mary was the cause of salvation to herself and all mankind;' and in his fifth book, that 'as Eve was seduced to fly God, so the virgin Mary was persuaded to obey God, that the virgin Mary might be made the advocate of the virgin Eve.' Thus, if Irenæus, for his nearness to the apostles, must be the patron of episcopacy to us, it is no marvel though he be the patron of idolatry to the papist, for the same cause.

To the epistle of those brethren of Smyrna, that write the martyrdom of Polycarpus, and style him an apostolical and prophetical doctor, and bishop of the church of Smyrna, I could be content to give some credit for the great honor and affection which I see those brethren bear him; and not undeservedly, if it be true which they there say, that he was a prophet, and had a voice from heaven to comfort him at his death, which they could hear, but the rest could not for the noise and tumult that was in the place; and besides, if his body were so precious to the christians, that he was never wont to pull off his shoes for one or other that still strove to have the office that they

might come in to touch his feet; yet a light scruple or two I would gladly be resolved in; if Polycarpus, who, as they say, was a prophet that never failed in what he foretold, had declared to his friends, that he knew by vision he should die no other death than burning, how it came to pass that the fire, when it came to proof, would not do his work, but, starting off like a full sail from the mast, did but reflect a golden light upon his unviolated limbs, exhaling such a sweet odor as if all the incense of Arabia had been burning, insomuch that when the billmen saw that the fire was overawed and could not do the deed, one of them steps to him and stabs him with a sword, at which wound such abundance of blood gushed forth as quenched the fire. By all this relation it appears not how the fire was guilty of his death, and then how can his prophecy be fulfilled? Next, how the standers-by could be so soon weary of such a glorious sight and such a fragrant smell, as to hasten the executioner to put out the fire with the martyr's blood; unless perhaps they thought, as in all perfumes, that the smoke would be more odorous than the flame. Yet these good brethren say he was bishop of Smyrna. No man questions it, if bishop and presbyter were anciently all one; and how does it appear by any thing in this testimony that they were not? If among his other high titles of prophetical, apostolical, and most admired of those times, he be also styled bishop of the church of Smyrna in a kind of speech, which the rhetoricians call κατ' ἐξοχήν, for his excellence' sake, as being the most famous of all the Smyrnian presbyters; it cannot be proved neither from this nor that other place of Irenæus, that he was therefore in distinct and monarchical order above the other presbyters. It is more probable, that if the whole presbytery had been as renowned as he, they would have termed

every one of them severally bishop of Smyrna. Hence it is that we read sometimes of two bishops in one place; and had all the presbyters there been of like worth, we might perhaps have read of twenty.

Tertullian accosts us next, for Polycrates hath had his answer, whose testimony, state but the question right, is of no more force to deduce episcopacy than the two former. He says that the church of Smyrna had Polycarpus placed there by John, and the church of Rome, Clement ordained by Peter; and so the rest of the churches did show what bishops they had received by the appointment of the apostles. None of this will be contradicted; for we have it out of the scripture that bishops or presbyters, which were the same, were left by the apostles in every church, and they might perhaps give some special charge to Clement, or Polycarpus, or Linus, and put some special trust in them for the experience they had of their faith and constancy. It remains yet to be evinced out of this and the like places, which will never be, that the word bishop is otherwise taken, than in the language of St Paul and the Acts, for an order above presbyters. We grant them bishops, we grant them worthy men, we grant them placed in several churches by the apostles, we grant that Irenæus and Tertullian affirm this; but that they were placed in a superior order above the presbytery, show from all these words why we should grant. It is not enough to say the apostle left this man bishop in Rome, and that other in Ephesus, but to show when they altered their own decree set down by St Paul, and made all the presbyters underlings to one bishop.

But suppose Tertullian had made an imparity where none was originally. Should he move us, that goes about to prove an imparity between God the Father,

and God the Son, as these words import in his book against Praxeas? 'The Father is the whole substance, but the Son a derivation, and portion of the whole, as he himself professes, because the Father is greater than me.' Believe him now for a faithful relater of tradition, whom you see such an unfaithful expounder of the scripture. Besides, in his time all allowable tradition was now lost. For this same author, whom you bring to testify the ordination of Clement to the bishopric of Rome by Peter, testifies also, in the beginning of his treatise concerning Chastity, that the bishop of Rome did then use to send forth his edicts by the name of pontifex maximus, and episcopus episcoporum, chief priest, and bishop of bishops. For shame then do not urge that authority to keep up a bishop, that will necessarily engage you to set up a pope.

As little can your advantage be from Hegesippus, an historian of the same time, not extant, but cited by Eusebius. His words are, that 'in every city all things so stood in his time as the law, and the prophets, and our Lord did preach.' If they stood so, then stood not bishops above presbyters; for what our Lord and his disciples taught, God be thanked, we have no need to go learn of him; and you may as well hope to persuade us out of the same author, that James, the brother of our Lord, was a Nazarite, and that to him only it was lawful to enter into the holy of holies; that his food was not upon any thing that had life, fish or flesh; that he used no woollen garments, but only linen, and so as he trifles on. If, therefore, the tradition of the church were now grown so ridiculous and disconsenting from the doctrine of the apostles, even in those points which were of least moment to men's particular ends, how well may we be assured it was much more degenerated in point of episcopacy

and precedency, things which could afford such plausible pretences, such commodious traverses for ambition and avarice to lurk behind.

As for those Britain bishops which you cite, take heed what you do; for our Britain bishops, less ancient than these, were remarkable for nothing more than their poverty, as Sulpitius Severus and Beda can remember you of examples good store.

Lastly, for the fabulous Metaphrastes is not worth an answer, that authority of Clemens Alexandrinus is not to be found in all his works; and wherever it be extant, it is in controversy whether it be Clement's or no; or if it were, it says only that St John in some places constituted bishops. Questionless he did; but where does Clemens say he set them above presbyters? No man will gainsay the constitution of bishops; but the raising them to a superior and distinct order above presbyters, seeing the gospel makes them one and the same thing, a thousand such allegations as these will not give prelatical episcopacy one chapel of ease above a parish church. And thus much for this cloud I cannot say rather than petty fog of witnesses, with which episcopal men would cast a mist before us, to deduce their exalted episcopacy from apostolic times.

Now, although, as all men well know, it be the wonted shift of error and fond opinion, when they find themselves outlawed by the Bible and forsaken of sound reason, to betake them with all speed to their old startinghole of tradition and that wild and overgrown covert of antiquity, thinking to farm there at large room and fine good stabling, yet thus much their own deified antiquity betrays them, to inform us that tradition hath had very seldom or never the gift of persuasion; as that which church histories report of those east and western paschalists, formerly spok-

en of, will declare. Who would have thought that Polycarpus on the one side could have erred in what he saw St John do, or Anicetus, bishop of Rome, on the other side, in what he or some of his friends might pretend to have seen St Peter or St Paul do; and yet neither of these could persuade either when to keep Easter? The like frivolous contention troubled the primitive English churches, while Colmanus and Wilfride, on either side deducing their opinions, the one from the undeniable example of St John and the learned bishop Anatolius and lastly the miraculous Columba, the other from St Peter and the Nicene council, could gain no ground of each other, till king Oswy, perceiving no likelihood of ending the controversy that way, was fain to decide it himself, good king, with that small knowledge wherewith those times had furnished him. So when those pious Greek emperors began, as Cedrenus relates, to put down monks and abolish images, the old idolaters finding themselves blasted and driven back by the prevailing light of the scripture, sent out their sturdy monks called the Abramites, to allege for images the ancient fathers Dionysius and this our objected Irenæus. Nay, they were so high flown in their antiquity, that they undertook to bring the apostles and Luke the evangelist, yea, Christ himself, from certain records that were then current, to patronize their idolatry; yet for all this the worthy emperor Theophilus, even in those dark times, chose rather to nourish himself and his people with the sincere milk of the gospel, than to drink from the mixed confluence of so many corrupt and poisonous waters, as tradition would have persuaded him to, by most ancient seeming authorities. In like manner all the reformed churches abroad, unthroning episcopacy, doubtless were not ignorant of these testimonies alledged to draw it in a

line from the apostle's days; for surely the author will not think he hath brought us now any new authorities or considerations into the world, which the reformers in other places were not advised of; and yet we see the intercession of all these apostolic fathers could not prevail with them to alter their resolved decree of reducing into order their usurping and overprovendered episcopants; and God hath blessed their work this hundred years with a prosperous and steadfast and still happy success. And this may serve to prove the insufficiency of these present episcopal testimonies, not only in themselves, but in the account of those ever that have been the followers of truth.

It will next behove us to consider the inconvenience we fall into, by using ourselves to be guided by these kind of testimonies. He that thinks it the part of a well learned man to have read diligently the ancient stories of the church, and to be no stranger in the volumes of the fathers, shall have all judicious men consenting with him; not hereby to control, and new fangle the scripture, God forbid! but to mark how corruption and apostasy crept in by degrees, and to gather up wherever we find the remaining sparks of original truth, wherewith to stop the mouths of our adversaries, and to bridle them with their own curb, who willingly pass by that which is orthodoxal in them, and studiously cull out that which is commentitious and best for their turns, not weighing the fathers in the balance of scripture, but scripture in the balance of the fathers. If we, therefore, making first the gospel our rule and oracle, shall take the good which we light on in the fathers and set it to oppose the evil which other men seek from them, in this way of skirmish we shall easily master all superstition and false doctrine; but if we turn this our discreet and

wary usage of them into a blind devotion towards them and whatsoever we find written by them, we both forsake our own grounds and reasons which led us at first to part from Rome, that is, to hold to the scriptures against all antiquity; we remove our cause into our adversaries' own court, and take up there those cast principles which will soon cause us to sod-er up with them again, inasmuch as believing antiquity for itself in any one point, we bring an engagement upon ourselves of assenting to all that it charges upon us. For suppose we should now, neglecting that which is clear in scripture, that a bishop and presbyter is all one both in name and office, and that what was done by Timothy and Titus, executing an extraordinary place as fellow labourers with the apostles and of a universal charge in planting christianity through divers regions, cannot be drawn into particular and daily example; suppose that neglecting this clearness of the text, we should, by the uncertain and corrupted writings of succeeding times, determine that bishop and presbyter are different, because we dare not deny what Ignatius, or rather the Perkin Warbeck of Ignatius, says; then must we be constrained to take upon ourselves a thousand superstitions and falsities which the papists will prove us down in, from as good authorities, and as ancient, as these that set a bishop above a presbyter. And the plain truth is, that when any of our men of those that are wedded to antiquity come to dispute with a papist, and, leaving the scriptures, put themselves without appeal to the sentence of synods and councils, using in the cause of Sion the hired soldiery of revolted Israel, where they give the Romanists one buff, they receive two counterbuffs. Were it therefore but in this regard, every true bishop should be afraid to conquer in his cause by such authorities as these, which if we admit for the authori-

ty's sake, we open a broad passage for a multitude of doctrines that have no ground in scripture to break in upon us.

Lastly, I do not know, it being undeniable that there are but two ecclesiastical orders, bishops and deacons, mentioned in the gospel, how it can be less than impiety to make a demur at that, which is there so perspicuous, confronting and paralleling the sacred verity of St Paul with the offals and sweepings of antiquity, that met as accidentally and absurdly as Epicurus's atoms, to patch up a Leucippean Ignatius, inclining rather to make this phantasm an expounder, or indeed a depraver of St Paul, than St Paul an examiner and discoverer of this impostorship, nor caring how slightly they put off the verdict of holy text unsalved, that says plainly there be but two orders, so they maintain the reputation of their imaginary doctor that proclaims three. Certainly if Christ's apostle have set down but two, then according to his own words, though he himself should unsay it, and not only the angel of Smyrna, but an angel from heaven should bear us down that there be three, St Paul has doomed him twice, 'Let him be accursed;' for Christ hath pronounced that no tittle of his word shall fall to the ground; and if one jot be alterable, it is as possible that all should perish. And this shall be our righteousness, our ample warrant and strong assurance, both now and at the last day, never to be ashamed of, against all the heaped names of angels and martyrs, councils and fathers urged upon us, if we have given ourselves up to be taught by the pure and living precept of God's word only, which, without more additions, nay, with a forbidding of them, hath within itself the promise of eternal life, the end of all our wearisome labors and all our sustaining hopes. But if any shall strive to set up his ephod

and teraphim of antiquity against the brightness and perfection of the gospel, let him fear lest he and his Baal be turned into Bosheth. And thus much may suffice to show that the pretended episcopacy cannot be deduced from the apostolical times.

THE

REASON OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT

URGED AGAINST PRELATY.

IN TWO BOOKS.

THE PREFACE.

In the publishing of human laws, which for the most part aim not beyond the good of civil society, to set them barely forth to the people without reason or preface, like a physical prescript, or only with threatnings, as it were a lordly command, in the judgment of Plato was thought to be done neither generously nor wisely. His advice was, seeing that persuasion certainly is a more winning and more manlike way to keep men in obedience than fear, that to such laws as were of principal moment there should be used as an induction, some welltempered discourse, showing how good, how gainful, how happy it must needs be to live according to honesty and justice; which being uttered with those native colors and graces of speech, as true eloquence, the daughter of virtue, can best bestow upon her mother's praises, would so incite, and in a manner charm the multitude into the love of that which is really good, as to embrace it ever after, not of custom and awe, which most men do, but of choice and purpose, with true and constant delight.

But this practice we may learn from a better and

more ancient authority than any heathen writer hath to give us; and indeed being a point of so high wisdom and worth, how could it be but we should find it in that book, within whose sacred context all wisdom is unfolded? Moses, therefore, the only lawgiver that we can believe to have been visibly taught of God, knowing how vain it was to write laws to men whose hearts were not first seasoned with the knowledge of God and of his works, began from the book of Genesis, as a prologue to his laws, which Josephus right well hath noted, that the nation of the Jews, reading therein the universal goodness of God to all creatures in the creation and his peculiar favor to them in his election of Abraham their ancestor, from whom they could derive so many blessings upon themselves, might be moved to obey sincerely, by knowing so good a reason of their obedience. If then in the administration of civil justice, and under the obscurity of ceremonial rites, such care was had by the wisest of the heathen, and by Moses among the Jews, to instruct them at least in a general reason of that government to which their subjection was required, how much more ought the members of the church under the gospel, seek to inform their understanding in the reason of that government which the church claims to have over them? especially for that the church hath in her immediate cure those inner parts and affections of the mind where the seat of reason is, having power to examine our spiritual knowledge, and to demand from us, in God's behalf, a service entirely reasonable.

But because about the manner and order of this government, whether it ought to be presbyterial or prelatical, such endless question or rather uproar is arisen in this land, as may be justly termed what the fever is to the physicians, the eternal reproach of our divines; whilst other profound clerks of late greatly,

as they conceive, to the advancement of prelaty, are so earnestly meting out the Lydian proconsular Asia, to make good the prime metropolis of Ephesus, as if some of our prelates in all haste meant to change their soil and become neighbours to the English bishop of Chalcedon; and whilst good Breerwood as busily bestirs himself in our vulgar tongue to divide precisely three patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, and whether to any of these England doth belong; I shall in the mean while not cease to hope, through the mercy and grace of Christ, the head and husband of his church, that England shortly is to belong neither to see patriarchal nor see prelatical, but to the faithful feeding and disciplining of that ministerial order, which the blessed apostles constituted throughout the churches; and this I shall essay to prove can be no other than that of presbyters and deacons.

And if any man incline to think I undertake a task too difficult for my years, I trust through the supreme enlightening assistance far otherwise; for my years, be they few or many, what imports it? So they bring reason, let that be looked on. And for the task, from hence that the question in hand is so needful to be known at this time, chiefly by every meaner capacity, and contains in it the explication of many admirable and heavenly privileges reached out to us by the gospel, I conclude the task must be easy; God having to this end ordained his gospel to be the revelation of his power and wisdom in Christ Jesus. And this is one depth of his wisdom, that he could so plainly reveal so great a measure of it to the gross, distorted apprehension of decayed mankind. Let others, therefore, dread and shun the scriptures for their darkness. I shall wish I may deserve to be reckoned among those who admire and dwell upon them for their clearness.

And this seems to be the cause why in those places of holy writ, wherein is treated of church government, the reasons thereof are not formally and professedly set down, because to him that heeds attentively the drift and scope of christian profession, they easily imply themselves; which thing further to explain, having now prefaced enough, I shall no longer defer.

CHAPTER I.

That Church Government is prescribed in the Gospel, and that to say otherwise is unsound.

THE first and greatest reason of church government, we may securely, with the assent of many on the adverse part, affirm to be, because we find it so ordained and set out to us by the appointment of God in the scriptures; but whether this be presbyterial or prelatical, it cannot be brought to the scanning, until I have said what is meet to some, who do not think it for the ease of their inconsequent opinions, to grant that church discipline is platformed in the Bible, but that it is left to the discretion of men.

To this conceit of theirs I answer, that it is both unsound and untrue; for there is not that thing in the world of more grave and urgent importance throughout the whole life of man, than is discipline. What need I instance? He that hath read with judgment of nations and commonwealths, of cities and camps, of peace and war, sea and land, will readily agree that the flourishing and decaying of all civil societies, all the moments and turnings of human occasions are moved to and fro as upon the axle of discipline. So that whatsoever power or sway in mortal things weaker

men have attributed to fortune, I durst with more confidence, the honor of divine providence ever saved, ascribe either to the vigor or the slackness of discipline. Nor is there any sociable perfection in this life, civil or sacred, that can be above discipline; but she is that which with her musical cords preserves and holds all the parts thereof together. Hence in those perfect armies of Cyrus in Xenophon, and Scipio in the Roman stories, the excellence of military skill was esteemed, not by the not needing, but by the readiest submitting to the edicts of their commander.

And certainly discipline is not only the removal of disorder, but, if any visible shape can be given to divine things, the very visible shape and image of virtue, whereby she is not only seen in the regular gestures and motions of her heavenly paces as she walks, but also makes the harmony of her voice audible to mortal ears. Yea, the angels themselves, in whom no disorder is feared, as the apostle that saw them in his rapture describes, are distinguished and quaternioned into their celestial princedoms and satrapies, according as God himself has writ his imperial decrees through the great provinces of heaven.

The state also of the blessed in paradise, though never so perfect, is not therefore left without discipline, whose golden surveying reed marks out and measures every quarter and circuit of New Jerusalem. Yet is it not to be conceived that those eternal effluences of sanctity and love in the glorified saints, should by this means be confined and cloyed with repetition of that which is prescribed; but that our happiness may orb itself into a thousand vagancies of glory and delight, and, with a kind of eccentrical equation, be as it were an invariable planet of joy and felicity. How much less can we believe that God would leave his frail and feeble though not less beloved church here below, to

the perpetual stumble of conjecture and disturbance in this our dark voyage, without the card and compass of discipline, which is so hard to be of man's making, that we may see even in the guidance of a civil state to wordly happiness, it is not for every learned or every wise man, though many of them consult in common, to invent or frame a discipline; but if it be at all the work of man, it must be of such a one as is a true knower of himself, and in whom contemplation and practice, wit, prudence, fortitude, and eloquence must be rarely met, both to comprehend the hidden causes of things and span in his thoughts all the various effects that passion or complexion can work in man's nature; and hereto must his hand be at defiance with gain, and his heart in all virtues heroic; so far is it from the ken of these wretched projectors of ours, that bescrawl their pamphlets every day with new forms of government for our church. And therefore all the ancient lawgivers were either truly inspired, as Moses, or were such men as with authority enough might give it out to be so, as Minos, Lycurgus, Numa, because they wisely forethought that men would never quietly submit to such a discipline as had not more of God's hand in it than man's.

To come within the narrowness of household government; observation will show us many deep counsellors of state and judges to demean themselves incorruptly in the settled course of affairs, and many worthy preachers upright in their lives, powerful in their audience; but look upon either of these men where they are left to their own disciplining at home, and you shall soon perceive, for all their single knowledge and uprightness, how deficient they are in the regulating of their own family, not only in what may concern the virtuous and decent composure of their minds in their several places, but that which is of a

lower and easier performance, the right possessing of the outward vessel, their body, in health or sickness, rest or labor, diet or abstinence, whereby to render it more pliant to the soul and useful to the commonwealth; which if men were but as good to discipline themselves, as some are to tutor their horses and hawks, it could not be so gross in most households. If then it appear so hard and so little known how to govern a house well, which is thought of so easy discharge and for every man's undertaking, what skill of man, what wisdom, what parts can be sufficient to give laws and ordinances to the elect household of God? If we could imagine that He had left it at random without his provident and gracious ordering, who is he so arrogant, so presumptuous, that durst dispose and guide the living ark of the Holy Ghost, though he should find it wandering in the field of Bethshemesh, without the conscious warrant of some high calling? But no profane insolence can parallel that which our prelates dare avouch, to drive outrageously and shatter the holy ark of the church, not borne upon their shoulders with pains and labor in the word, but drawn with rude oxen, their officials, and their own brute inventions. Let them make shows of reforming while they will; so long as the church is mounted upon the prelatical cart, and not as it ought, between the hands of the ministers, it will but shake and totter; and he that sets to his hand, though with a good intent to hinder the shogging of it, in this unlawful waggonry wherein it rides, let him beware it be not fatal to him as it was to Uzza. Certainly if God be the Father of his family the church, wherein could he express that name more than in training it up under his own allwise and dear economy, not turning it loose to the havoc of strangers and wolves, that would ask no better plea than this to do in the church of Christ,

whatever humor, faction, policy, or licentious will would prompt them to?

Again, if Christ be the church's husband, expecting her to be presented before him a pure unspotted virgin; in what could he show his tender love to her more, than in prescribing his own ways, which he best knew would be to the improvement of her health and beauty, with much greater care doubtless than the Persian king could appoint for his queen Esther those maiden dietings and set prescriptions of baths and odors, which may render her at last more amiable to his eye? for of any age or sex, most unfitly may a virgin be left to an uncertain and arbitrary education. Yea, though she be well instructed, yet is she still under a more strait tuition, especially if betrothed. In like manner the church, bearing the same resemblance, it were not reason to think she should be left destitute of that care which is as necessary and proper to her as instruction. For public preaching indeed is the gift of the Spirit, working as best seems to his secret will; but discipline is the practic work of preaching directed and applied, as is most requisite, to particular duty; without which it were all one to the benefit of souls, as it would be to the cure of bodies, if all the physicians in London should get into the several pulpits of the city, and assembling all the diseased in every parish, should begin a learned lecture of pleurisies, palsies, lethargies, to which perhaps none there present were inclined; and so without so much as feeling one pulse, or giving the least order to any skilful apothecary, should dismiss them from time to time, some groaning, some languishing, some expiring, with this only charge, to look well to themselves and do as they hear.

Of what excellence and necessity, then, church discipline is, how beyond the faculty of man to frame,

and how dangerous to be left to man's invention, who would be every foot turning it to sinister ends; how properly also it is the work of God as father, and of Christ as husband of the church, we have by thus much heard.

CHAPTER II.

That Church Government is set down in Holy Scripture, and that to say otherwise is untrue.

As therefore it is unsound to say, that God hath not appointed any set government in his church, so is it untrue. Of the time of the law there can be no doubt; for, to let pass the first institution of priests and Levites which is too clear to be insisted upon, when the temple came to be built, which in plain judgment could breed no essential change either in religion or in the priestly government, yet God, to show how little he could endure that men should be tampering and contriving in his worship, though in things of less regard, gave to David for Solomon, not only a pattern and model of the temple, but a direction for the courses of the priests and Levites and for all the work of their service.

At the return from the captivity, things were only restored after the ordinance of Moses and David; or if the least alteration be to be found, they had with them inspired men, prophets; and it were not sober to say they did aught of moment without divine intimation.

In the prophecy of Ezekiel, from the fortieth chapter onward, after the destruction of the temple, God by his prophet seeking to wean the hearts of the Jews from their old law to expect a new and more perfect

reformation under Christ, sets out before their eyes the stately fabric and constitution of his church with all the ecclesiastical functions appertaining. Indeed the description is assorted best to the apprehension of those times, typical and shadowy, but in such manner as never yet came to pass, nor ever must literally, unless we mean to annihilate the gospel. But so exquisite and lively the description is in portraying the new state of the church, and especially in those points where government seems to be most active, that both Jews and Gentiles might have good cause to be assured, that God, whenever he meant to reform his church, never intended to leave the government thereof, delineated here in such curious architecture, to be patched afterwards and varnished over with the devices and embellishings of man's imagination. Did God take such delight in measuring out the pillars, arches, and doors of a material temple? Was he so punctual and circumspect in lavers, altars, and sacrifices soon after to be abrogated, lest any of these should have been made contrary to his mind? Is not a far more perfect work, more agreeable to his perfection in the most perfect state of the church militant, the new alliance of God to man? Should not he rather now by his own prescribed discipline have cast his line and level upon the soul of man which is his rational temple, and, by the divine square and compass thereof, form and regenerate in us the lovely shapes of virtues and graces, the sooner to edify and accomplish that immortal stature of Christ's body, which is his church, in all her glorious lineaments and proportions? And that this indeed God hath done for us in the gospel, we shall see with open eyes, not under a veil.

We may pass over the history of the Acts and other places, turning only to those epistles of St Paul to

Timothy and Titus, where the spiritual eye may discern more goodly and gracefully erected than all the magnificence of temple or tabernacle, such a heavenly structure of evangelical discipline, so diffusive of knowledge and charity to the prosperous increase and growth of the church, that it cannot be wondered if that elegant and artful symmetry of the promised new temple in Ezekiel, and all those sumptuous things under the law were made to signify the inward beauty and splendor of the christian church thus governed. And whether this be commanded, let it now be judged.

St Paul after his preface to the first of Timothy, which he concludes in the seventeenth verse with Amen, enters upon the subject of this epistle, which is to establish the church government, with a command; 'This charge I commit to thee, son Timothy, according to the prophecies which went before on thee, that thou by them mightest war a good warfare;' which is plain enough thus expounded; this charge I commit to thee, wherein I now go about to instruct thee how thou shalt set up church discipline, that thou mightest war a good warfare, bearing thyself constantly and faithfully in the ministry, which in the first to the Corinthians is also called a warfare; and so after a kind of parenthesis concerning Hymenæus, he returns to his command, though under the mild word of exhorting, chapter second, verse first; 'I exhort therefore;' as if he had interrupted his former command by the occasional mention of Hymenæus. More beneath in the fourteenth verse of the third chapter, when he hath delivered the duties of bishops or presbyters, and deacons, not once naming any other order in the church, he thus adds; 'These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly;' such necessity it seems there was, 'but if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God.' From

this place it may be justly asked, whether Timothy, by this here written, might know what was to be known concerning the orders of church governors or no? If he might, then in such a clear text as this may we know too without further jangle; if he might not, then did St Paul write insufficiently, and moreover said not true, for he saith here he might know; and I persuade myself he did know ere this was written, but that the apostle had more regard to the instruction of us, than to the informing of him.

In the fifth chapter, after some other church precepts concerning discipline, mark what a dreadful command follows, verse twentyfirst; 'I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things.' And as if all were not yet sure enough, he closes up the epistle with an adjuring charge thus; 'I give thee charge in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, that thou keep this commandment;' that is, the whole commandment concerning discipline, being the main purpose of the epistle; although Hooker would fain have this denouncement referred to the particular precept going before, because the word commandment is in the singular number, not remembering that even in the first chapter of this epistle, the word commandment is used in a plural sense, verse fifth. 'Now the end of the commandment is charity;' and what more frequent than in like manner to say, the law of Moses? So that either to restrain the significance too much or too much to enlarge it, would make the adjuration either not so weighty, or not so pertinent. And thus we find here that the rules of church discipline are not only commanded, but hedged about with such a terrible impalement of commands, as he that will break through wilfully to violate the least of them, must hazard the wounding of

his conscience even unto death. Yet all this notwithstanding, we shall find them broken well nigh all by the fair pretenders even of the next ages, no less to the contempt of him whom they feign to be the archfounder of prelaty, St Peter, who by what he writes in the fifth chapter of his first epistle, should seem to be far another man than tradition reports him. There he commits to the presbyters only full authority both of feeding the flock and episcopating, and commands that obedience be given to them as to the mighty hand of God, which is his mighty ordinance. Yet all this was as nothing to repel the venturous boldness of innovation that ensued, changing the decrees of God that are immutable as if they had been breathed by man.

Nevertheless, when Christ, by those visions of St John, foreshows the reformation of his church, he bids him take his reed and mete it out again after the first pattern; for he prescribes him no other. 'Arise,' said the angel, 'and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein.' What is there in the world can measure men but discipline? Our word ruling imports no less. Doctrine indeed is the measure, or at least the reason of the measure, it is true; but unless the measure be applied to that which it is to measure, how can it actually do its proper work? Whether therefore discipline be all one with doctrine, or the particular application thereof to this or that person, we all agree that doctrine must be such only as is commanded; or whether it be something really differing from doctrine, yet was it only of God's appointment, as being the most adequate measure of the church and her children, which is here the office of a great evangelist and the reed given him from heaven. But that part of the temple which is not thus measured, so far is it from being in God's tuition or delight, that in the following verse he

rejects it. However in show and visibility it may seem a part of his church, yet inasmuch as it lies thus unmeasured, he leaves it to be trampled by the gentiles; that is, to be polluted with idolatrous and gentilish rites and ceremonies. And that the principal reformation here foretold, is already come to pass, as well in discipline as in doctrine, the state of our neighbour churches afford us to behold. Thus, through all the periods and changes of the church, it hath been proved that God hath still reserved to himself the right of enacting church government.

CHAPTER III.

That it is dangerous and unworthy the Gospel, to hold that Church Government is to be patterned by the Law, as Bishop Andrews and the Primate of Armagh maintain.

WE may return now from this interposing difficulty thus removed, to affirm, that since church government is so strictly commanded in God's word, the first and greatest reason why we should submit thereto, is because God hath so commanded. But whether of these two, prelaty or presbytery can prove itself to be supported by this first and greatest reason, must be the next dispute; wherein this position is to be first laid down, as granted, that I may not follow a chase rather than an argument, that one of these two, and none other, is of God's ordaining; and if it be, that ordinance must be evident in the gospel. For the imperfect and obscure institution of the law, which the apostles themselves doubt not ofttimes to vilify, cannot give rules to the complete and glorious ministration of the gospel, which looks on the law as on a child, not as on a tutor. And that the prelates have

no sure foundation in the gospel, their own guiltiness doth manifest .They would not else run questing up as high as Adam to fetch their original, as it is said one of them lately did in public. To which assertion, had I heard it, because I see they are so insatiable of antiquity, I should have gladly assented, and confessed them yet more ancient; for Lucifer, before Adam, was the first prelate angel; and both he, as is commonly thought, and our forefather Adam, as we all know, for aspiring above their orders, were miserably degraded. But others better advised are content to receive their beginning from Aaron and his sons, among whom bishop Andrews of late years, and in these times the primate of Armagh, for their learning, are reputed the best able to say what may be said in this opinion.

The primate, in his discourse about the original of episcopacy newly revised, begins thus; 'The ground of episcopacy is fetched partly from the pattern prescribed by God in the Old Testament, and partly from the imitation thereof brought in by the apostles.' Herein I must entreat to be excused of the desire I have to be satisfied, how, for example, the ground of episcopacy is fetched partly from the example of the Old Testament, by whom next, and by whose authority; secondly, how the church government under the gospel can be rightly called an imitation of that in the Old Testament; for that the gospel is the end and fulfilling of the law, our liberty also from the bondage of the law, I plainly read. How then the ripe age of the gospel should be put to school again and learn to govern herself from the infancy of the law, the stronger to imitate the weaker, the freeman to follow the captive, the learned to be lessoned by the rude, will be a hard undertaking to evince from any of those principles which either art or inspiration hath written.

If any thing done by the apostles may be drawn howsoever to a likeness of something Mosaical, if it cannot be proved that it was done of purpose in imitation, as having the right thereof grounded in nature, and not in ceremony or type, it will little avail the matter. The whole Judaic law is either political, and to take pattern by that, no christian nation ever thought itself obliged in conscience; or moral, which contains in it the observation of whatsoever is substantially and perpetually true and good, either in religion or course of life. That which is thus moral, besides what we fetch from those unwritten laws and ideas which nature hath engraven in us, the gospel, as stands with her dignity most, lectures to her from her own authentic handwriting and command, not copies out from the borrowed manuscript of a subservient scroll, by way of imitating. As well might she be said in her sacrament of water, to imitate the baptism of John. What though she retain excommunication used in the synagogue? retain the morality of the sabbath? She does not therefore imitate the law, her underling, but perfect her. All that was morally delivered from the law to the gospel, in the office of the priests and Levites, was, that there should be a ministry set apart to teach and discipline the church; both which duties the apostles thought good to commit to the presbyters. And if any distinction of honor were to be made among them, they directed it should be to those not that only rule well, but especially to those that labor in the word and doctrine. By which we are taught, that laborious teaching is the most honorable prelaty that one minister can have above another in the gospel. If, therefore, the superiority of bishopship be grounded on the priesthood as a part of the moral law, it cannot be said to be an imitation; for it were ridiculous that morality should imitate morality, which

ever was the same thing. This very word of patterning or imitating, excludes episcopacy from the solid and grave ethical law, and betrays it to be a mere child of ceremony, or likelier some misbegotten thing, that having plucked the gay feathers of her obsolete bravery, to hide her own deformed barrenness, now vaunts and glories in her stolen plumes. In the mean while, what danger there is against the very life of the gospel, to make in any thing the typical law her pattern, and how impossible in that which touches the priestly government, I shall use such light as I have received, to lay open.

It cannot be unknown by what expressions the holy apostle St Paul spares not to explain to us the nature and condition of the law, calling those ordinances which were the chief and essential offices of the priests, the elements and rudiments of the world, both weak and beggarly. Now to breed, and bring up the children of the promise, the heirs of liberty and grace, under such a kind of government as is professed to be but an imitation of that ministry which engendered to bondage the sons of Agar; how can this be but a foul injury and derogation, if not a cancelling of that birthright and immunity which Christ hath purchased for us with his blood? For the ministration of the law, consisting of carnal things, drew to it such a ministry as consisted of carnal respects, dignity, precedence, and the like. And such a ministry established in the gospel as is founded upon the points and terms of superiority and nests itself in worldly honors, will draw to it, and we see it doth, such a religion as runs back again to the old pomp and glory of the flesh; for doubtless there is a certain attraction and magnetic force betwixt the religion and the ministerial form thereof. If the religion be pure, spiritual, simple, and lowly, as the gospel most truly is, such must the face

of the ministry be. And in like manner, if the form of the ministry be grounded in the worldly degrees of authority, honor, temporal jurisdiction, we see with our eyes it will turn the inward power and purity of the gospel into the outward carnality of the law; evaporating and exhaling the internal worship into empty conformities and gay shows. And what remains then but that we should run into as dangerous and deadly apostasy as our lamentable neighbours the papists, who by this very snare and pitfall of imitating the ceremonial law, fell into that irrecoverable superstition as must needs make void the covenant of salvation to them that persist in this blindness?

CHAPTER IV.

That it is impossible to make the Priesthood of Aaron a Pattern whereon to ground Episcopacy.

THAT which was promised next, is to declare the impossibility of grounding evangelic government in the imitation of the Jewish priesthood; which will be done by considering both the quality of the persons, and the office itself.

Aaron and his sons were the princes of their tribe before they were sanctified to the priesthood; that personal eminence which they held above the other Levites, they received not only from their office, but partly brought it into their office; and so from that time forward the priests were not chosen out of the whole number of the Levites, as our bishops, but were born inheritors of the dignity. Therefore, unless we shall choose our prelates only out of the nobility and let them run in a blood, there can be no possible imitation of lording over their brethren in regard of their persons altogether unlike.

As for the office, which was a representation of Christ's own person more immediately in the high priest, and of his whole priestly office in all the other, to the performance of which the Levites were but as servitors and deacons, it was necessary there should be a distinction of dignity between two functions of so great odds. But there being no such difference among our ministers, unless it be in reference to the deacons, it is impossible to found a prelaty upon the imitation of this priesthood. For wherein, or in what work is the office of a prelate excellent above that of a pastor? In ordination, you will say; but flatly against scripture; for there we know Timothy received ordination by the hands of the presbytery, notwithstanding all the vain delusions that are used to evade that testimony and maintain an unwarrantable usurpation. But wherefore should ordination be a cause of setting up a superior degree in the church? Is not that whereby Christ became our Saviour a higher and greater work, than that whereby he did ordain messengers to preach and publish him our Saviour? Every minister sustains the person of Christ in his highest work of communicating to us the mysteries of our salvation, and hath the power of binding and absolving; how should he need a higher dignity to represent or execute that which is an inferior work in Christ? Why should the performance of ordination, which is a lower office, exalt a prelate, and not the seldom discharge of a higher and more noble office, which is preaching and administering, much rather depress him? Verily, neither the nature nor the example of ordination, doth any way require an imparity between the ordainer and the ordained; for what more natural than every like to produce his like, man to beget man, fire to propagate fire? And in examples of highest opinion, the ordainer is inferior to the

ordained; for the pope is not made by the precedent pope, but by cardinals, who ordain and consecrate to a higher and greater office than their own.

CHAPTER V.

To the Arguments of Bishop Andrews and the Primate.

It follows here to attend to certain objections in a little treatise lately printed among others of like sort at Oxford, and in the title said to be out of the rude draughts of bishop Andrews; and surely they be rude draughts indeed, insomuch that it is marvel to think what his friends meant, to let come abroad such shallow reasonings with the name of a man so much bruited for learning.

In the twelfth and twentythird pages he seems most notoriously inconstant to himself; for in the former place he tells us he forbears to take any argument of prelaty from Aaron, as being the type of Christ. In the latter he can forbear no longer, but repents him of his rash gratuity, affirming that to say, Christ being come in the flesh, his figure in the high priest ceaseth, is the shift of an anabaptist; and stiffly argues, that Christ being as well king as priest, was as well foreresembled by the kings then, as by the high priest; so that if his coming take away the one type, it must also the other. Marvellous piece of divinity! and well worth that the land should pay six thousand pounds a year for, in a bishopric; although I read of no sophister among the Greeks that was so dear, neither Hippias nor Protagoras, nor any whom the Socratic school famously refuted without hire. Here we have the type of the king sewed to the tippet of the bishop, subtly to cast a jealousy upon the crown,

as if the right of kings, like Meleager in the Metamorphosis, were no longerlived than the firebrand of prelaty. But more likely the prelates, fearing, for their own guilty carriage protests they do fear, that their fair days cannot long hold, practise by possessing the king with this most false doctrine, to engage his power for them, as in his own quarrel, that when they fall they may fall in a general ruin; just as cruel Tiberius would wish;

'When I die let the earth be rolled in flames.'

But where, O Bishop, doth the purpose of the law set forth Christ to us as a king? That which never was intended in the law can never be abolished as part thereof. When the law was made, there was no king. If before the law or under the law, God by a special type in any king would foresignify the future kingdom of Christ, which is not yet visibly come, what was that to the law? The whole ceremonial law, and types can be in no law else, comprehends nothing but the propitiatory office of Christ's priesthood, which being in substance accomplished, both law and priesthood fades away of itself, and passes into air like a transitory vision, and the right of kings neither stands by any type nor falls. We acknowledge that the civil magistrate wears an authority of God's giving, and ought to be obeyed as his vicegerent. But to make a king a type, we say is an abusive and unskilful speech, and of a moral solidity makes it seem a ceremonial shadow. Therefore your typical chain of king and priest must unlink.

But is not the type of priest taken away by Christ's coming? No, saith this famous protestant bishop of Winchester, it is not; and he that saith it is, is an anabaptist. What think ye, readers, do ye not understand him? What can be gathered hence, but that

the prelate would still sacrifice? Conceive him, readers, he would missificate. Their altars indeed were in a fair forwardness; and by such arguments as these they were setting up the molten calf of their mass again, and of their great hierarch the pope. For if the type of priest be not taken away, then neither of the high priest, it were a strange beheading; and high priest more than one there cannot be, and that one can be no less than a pope. And this doubtless was the bent of his career, though never so covertly.

Yea, but there was something else in the high priest besides the figure, as is plain by St Paul's acknowledging him. It is true, that in the seventeenth of Deuteronomy, whence this authority arises to the priest in matters too hard for the secular judges, as must needs be many in the occasions of those times, involved so with ceremonial niceties, no wonder though it be commanded to inquire at the mouth of the priests, who besides the magistrates their colleagues, had the oracle of urim to consult with. And whether the high priest Ananias had not encroached beyond the limits of his priestly authority, or whether he used it rightly, was no time then for St Paul to contest about. But if this instance be able to assert any right of jurisdiction to the clergy, it must impart it in common to all ministers, since it were a great folly to seek for counsel in a hard intricate scruple from a dunce prelate, when there might be found a speedier solution from a grave and learned minister, whom God hath gifted with the judgment of urim more amply ofttimes than all the prelates together, and now in the gospel hath granted the privilege of this oraculous ephod alike to all his ministers. The reason therefore of imparity in the priests, being now, as is aforesaid, really annulled both in their person, and in their

representative office, what right of jurisdiction soever can be from this place Levitically bequeathed, must descend upon the ministers of the gospel equally, as it finds them in all other points equal.

Well then, he is finally content to let Aaron go; Eleazar will serve his turn, as being a superior of superiors, and yet no type of Christ in Aaron's lifetime. O thou that wouldest wind into any figment, or phantasm, to save thy mitre! yet all this will not fadge, though it be cunningly interpolished by some second hand with crooks and emendations. Hear then; the type of Christ in some one particular, as of entering yearly into the holy of holies, and such like, rested upon the high priest only as more immediately personating our Saviour; but to resemble his whole satisfactory office, all the lineage of Aaron was no more than sufficient. And all or any of the priests, considered separately without relation to the highest, are but as a lifeless trunk and signify nothing. And this shows the excellence of Christ's sacrifice, who at once and in one person fulfilled that which many hundreds of priests many times repeating had enough to foreshow. What other imparity there was among themselves, we may safely suppose it depended on the dignity of their birth and family, together with the circumstances of a carnal service, which might afford many priorities.

And this I take to be the sum of what the bishop hath laid together to make plea for prelaty by imitation of the law; though indeed, if it may stand, it will infer popedom all as well. Many other courses he tries, enforcing himself with much ostentation of endless genealogies, as if he were the man that St Paul forewarns us of in Timothy, but so unvigorously, that I do not fear his winning of many to his cause, but such as doting upon great names are either overweak,

or oversudden of faith. I shall not refuse, therefore, to learn so much prudence as I find in the Roman soldier that attended the cross; not to stand breaking of legs, when the breath is quite out of the body, but pass to that which follows.

The primate of Armagh at the beginning of his tractate seeks to avail himself of that place in the sixtysixth of Isaiah, 'I will take of them for priests and Levites, saith the Lord,' to uphold hereby such a form of superiority among the ministers of the gospel, succeeding those in the law, as the Lord's day did the Sabbath. But certain if this method may be admitted of interpreting those prophetical passages concerning christian times in a punctual correspondence, it may with equal probability be urged upon us, that we are bound to observe some monthly solemnity answerable to the new moons, as well as the Lord's day which we keep in lieu of the Sabbath; for in the twentythird verse the prophet joins them in the same manner together, as before he did the priests and Levites, thus; 'And it shall come to pass that from one new moon to another, and from one Sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord.' Undoubtedly with as good consequence may it be alleged from hence, that we are to solemnize some religious monthly meeting different from the Sabbath, as from the other any distinct formality of ecclesiastical orders may be inferred. This rather will appear to be the lawful and unconstrained sense of the text, that God in taking of them for priests and Levites, will not esteem them unworthy, though Gentiles, to undergo any function in the church, but will make of them a full and perfect ministry, as was that of the priests and Levites in their kind. And bishop Andrews himself, to end the controversy, sends us a candid exposition of this quoted verse from the

twentyfourth page of his said book, plainly deciding that God by those legal names there of priests and Levites means our presbyters and deacons; for which either ingenuous confession, or slip of his pen, we give him thanks, and withal to him that brought these treatises into one volume, who, setting the contradictions of two learned men so near together, did not foresee.

What other deducements or analogies are cited out of St Paul to prove a likeness between the ministers of the Old and New Testament, having tried their sinews, I judge they may pass without harmdoing to our cause. We may remember, then, that prelaty neither hath nor can have foundation in the law, nor yet in the gospel; which assertion, as being for the plainness thereof a matter of eyesight rather than of disquisition, I voluntarily omit; not forgetting to specify this note again, that the earnest desire which the prelates have to build their hierarchy upon the sandy bottom of the law, gives us to see abundantly the little assurance which they find to rear up their high roofs by the authority of the gospel, repulsed as it were from the writings of the apostles, and driven to take sanctuary among the Jews. Hence that open confession of the primate before mentioned; 'episcopacy is fetched partly from the pattern of the Old Testament, and partly from the New as an imitation of the Old;' though nothing can be more rotten in divinity than such a position as this, and is all one as to say, episcopacy is partly of divine institution, and partly of man's own carving. For who gave the authority to fetch more from the pattern of the law than what the apostles had already fetched, if they fetched any thing at all, as hath been proved they did not? So was Jeroboam's episcopacy partly from the pattern of the law, and partly from the pattern of his own

carnality; a partycolored and a partymembered episcopacy; and what can this be less than a monstrous? Others therefore among the prelates, perhaps not so well able to brook, or rather to justify this foul relapsing to the old law, have condescended at last to a plain confessing that both the names and offices of bishops and presbyters at first were the same, and in the scriptures no where distinguished. This grants the remonstrant in the fifth section of his defence, and in the preface to his last short answer. But what need respect be had whether he grant or grant it not, whenas through all antiquity, and even in the loftiest times of prelaty, we find it granted?

Jerome, the learnedest of the fathers, hides not his opinion, that custom only, which the proverb calls a tyrant, was the maker of prelaty; before his audacious workmanship, the churches were ruled in common by the presbyters; and such a certain truth this was esteemed, that it became a decree among the papal canons compiled by Gratian.

Anselm, also, of Canterbury, who, to uphold the points of his prelatism made himself a traitor to his country, yet commenting the Epistles to Titus and the Philippians, acknowledges from the clearness of the text, what Jerome and the church rubric hath before acknowledged; he little dreamed then that the weeding hook of reformation would after two ages pluck up his glorious poppy from insulting over the good corn; though since, some of our British prelates, seeing themselves pressed to produce scripture, try all their cunning, if the New Testament will not help them, to frame of their own heads, as it were with wax, a kind of mimic bishop limned out to the life of a dead priesthood; or else they would strain us out a certain figurative prelate, by wringing the collective allegory of those seven angels into seven single rochets.

Howsoever, since it thus appears that custom was the creator of prelaty, being less ancient than the government of presbyters, it is an extreme folly to give them the hearing that tell us of bishops through so many ages; and if against their tedious muster of citations, sees, and successions, it be replied that wagers and church antiquities, such as are repugnant to the plain dictate of scripture, are both alike the arguments of fools, they have their answer. We rather are to cite all those ages to an arraignment before the word of God, wherefore, and what pretending, how presuming, they durst alter that divine institution of presbyters, which the apostles, who were no various and inconstant men, surely had set up in the churches; and why they choose to live by custom and catalogue, or as St Paul saith, by sight and visibility, rather than by faith? But, first, I conclude from their own mouths, that God's command in scripture, which doubtless ought to be the first and greatest reason of church government, is wanting to prelaty. And certainly we have plenteous warrant in the doctrine of Christ to determine that the want of this reason is of itself sufficient to confute all other pretences that may be brought in favor of it.

CHAPTER VI.

That Prelaty was not set up for Prevention of Schism, as is pretended; or if it were, that it performs not what it was first set up for, but quite the contrary.

Yet because it hath the outside of a specious reason, and specious things we know are aptest to work with human lightness and frailty, even against the solidest truth that sounds not plausibly, let us think it worth the

examining for the love of infirmer christians, of what importance this their second reason may be. Tradition they say hath taught them, that for the prevention of growing schism, the bishop was heaved above the presbyter. And must tradition then ever thus to the world's end be the perpetual cankerworm to eat out God's commandments? Are his decrees so inconsiderate and so fickle, that when the statutes of Solon or Lycurgus shall prove durably good to many ages, his in forty years shall be found defective, illcontrived, and for needful causes to be altered? Our Saviour and his apostles did not only foresee, but foretell and forewarn us to look for schism. Is it a thing to be imagined of God's wisdom, or at least of apostolic prudence, to set up such a government in the tenderness of the church, as should incline, or not be more able than any others to oppose itself to schism? It was well known what a bold lurker schism was, even in the household of Christ, between his own disciples and those of John the Baptist about fasting; and early in the Acts of the Apostles the noise of schism had almost drowned the proclaiming of the gospel; yet we read not in scripture that any thought was had of making prelates; no, not in those places where dissension was most rife. If prelaty had been then esteemed a remedy against schism, where was it more needful than in that great variance among the Corinthians, which St Paul so labored to reconcile? and whose eye could have found the fittest remedy sooner than his? and what could have made the remedy more available, than to have used it speedily? and lastly, what could have been more necessary than to have written it for our instruction? Yet we see he neither commended it to us, nor used it himself. For the same division remaining there, or else bursting forth again more than twenty years after St Paul's

death, we find in Clement's epistle of venerable authority, written to the yet factious Corinthians, that they were still governed by presbyters. And the same of other churches out of Hermas, and divers other the scholars of the apostles, by the late industry of the learned Salmasius appears. Neither yet did this worthy Clement, St Paul's disciple, though writing to them to lay aside schism, in the least word advise them to change the presbyterian government into prelaty. And therefore, if God afterward gave or permitted this insurrection of episcopacy, it is to be feared he did it in his wrath, as he gave the Israelites a king. With so good a will doth he use to alter his own chosen government once established. For mark whether this rare device of man's brain, thus preferred before the ordinance of God, had better success than fleshly wisdom, not counselling with God, is wont to have. So far was it from removing schism, that if schism parted the congregations before, now it rent and mangled, now it raged. Heresy begat heresy with a certain monstrous haste of pregnancy in her birth, at once born and bringing forth. Contentions, before brotherly, were now hostile. Men went to choose their bishop as they went to a pitched field, and the day of his election was like the sacking of a city, sometimes ended with the blood of thousands. Nor this among heretics only, but men of the same belief, yea confessors; and that with such odious ambition, that Eusebius in his eighth book testifies he abhorred to write. And the reason is not obscure; for the poor dignity, or rather burden, of a parochial presbyter could not engage any great party, nor that to any deadly feud; but prelaty was a power of that extent and sway, that if her election were popular, it was seldom not the cause of some faction or broil in the church. But if her dignity came by favor of

some prince, she was from that time his creature, and obnoxious to comply with his ends in state, were they right or wrong. So that instead of finding prelaty an impeacher of schism or faction, the more I search, the more I grow into all persuasion to think rather that faction and she, as with a spousal ring, are wedded together, never to be divorced.

But here let every one behold the just and dreadful judgment of God meeting with the audacious pride of man, that durst offer to mend the ordinances of Heaven. God, out of the strife of men, brought forth by his apostles to the church that beneficent and ever-distributing office of deacons, the stewards and ministers of holy alms; man, out of the pretended care of peace and unity, being caught in the snare of his impious boldness to correct the will of Christ, brought forth to himself upon the church that irreconcilable schism of perdition and apostasy, the Roman antichrist; for that the exaltation of the pope arose out of the reason of prelaty, it cannot be denied. And as I noted before, that the pattern of the high priest pleaded for in the gospel (for take away the head priest, the rest are but a carcase) sets up with better reason a pope than an archbishop; for if prelaty must still rise and rise till it come to a primate, why should it stay there? whenas the catholic government is not to follow the division of kingdoms, the temple best representing the universal church, and the high priest the universal head; so I observe here, that if to quiet schism there must be one head of prelaty in a land or monarchy, rising from a provincial to a national primacy, there may, upon better grounds of repressing schism, be set up one catholic head over the catholic church. For the peace and good of the church is not terminated in the schismless estate of one or two kingdoms, but should be provided for by the joint

consultation of all reformed christendom, that all controversy may end in the final pronounce or canon of one archprimate or protestant pope. Although by this means, for aught I see, all the diameters of schism may as well meet and be knit up in the centre of one grand falsehood. Now let all impartial men arbitrate what goodly inference these two main reasons of the prelates have, that by a natural league of consequence make more for the pope than for themselves; yea, to say more home, are the very womb for a new sub-antichrist to breed in, if it be not rather the old force and power of the same man of sin counterfeiting protestant.

It was not the prevention of schism, but it was schism itself and the hateful thirst of lording in the church, that first bestowed a being upon prelaty; this was the true cause, but the pretence is still the same. The prelates, as they would have it thought, are the only mauls of schism. Forsooth if they be put down, a deluge of innumerable sects will follow; we shall be all Brownists, Familists, Anabaptists. For the word Puritan seems to be quashed, and all that heretofore were counted such, are now Brownists. And thus do they raise an evil report upon the expected reforming grace that God hath bid us hope for; like those faithless spies, whose carcases shall perish in the wilderness of their own confused ignorance, and never taste the good of reformation. Do they keep away schism? If to bring a numb and chill stupidity of soul, an unactive blindness of mind upon the people by their leaden doctrine, or no doctrine at all; if to persecute all knowing and zealous christians by the violence of their courts, be to keep away schism, they keep away schism indeed; and by this kind of discipline all Italy and Spain is as purely and politically kept from schism as England hath been by them. With as good a

plea might the dead palsy boast to a man, it is I that free you from stitches and pains, and the troublesome feeling of cold and heat, of wounds and strokes; if I were gone, all these would molest you. The winter might as well vaunt itself against the spring, I destroy all noisome and rank weeds, I keep down all pestilent vapors; Yes, and all wholesome herbs, and all fresh dews, by your violent and hidebound frost; but when the gentle west winds shall open the fruitful bosom of the earth, thus overgirded by your imprisonment, then the flowers put forth and spring, and then the sun shall scatter the mists, and the manuring hand of the tiller shall root up all that burdens the soil without thank to your bondage. But far worse than any frozen captivity is the bondage of prelates; for that other, if it keep down any thing which is good within the earth, so doth it likewise that which is ill; but these let out freely the ill, and keep down the good, or else keep down the lesser ill, and let out the greatest.

Be ashamed at last to tell the parliament ye curb schismatics, whenas they know ye cherish and side with papists, and are now as it were one party with them, and it is said they help to petition for ye. Can we believe that your government strains in good earnest at the petty gnats of schism, whenas we see it makes nothing to swallow the camel heresy of Rome, but that indeed your throats are of the right pharisaical strain?

Where are those schismatics with whom the prelates hold such hot skirmish? Show us your acts, those glorious annals which your courts of loathed memory lately deceased have left us? Those schismatics, I doubt me, will be found the most of them such as whose only schism was to have spoke the truth against your high abominations and cruelties in

the church. This is the schism ye hate most, the removal of your criminous hierarchy. A politic government of yours, and of a pleasant conceit, set up to remove those as a pretended schism, that would remove you as a palpable heresy in government. If the schism would pardon ye that, she might go jagged in as many cuts and slashes as she pleased for you. As for the rending of the church, we have many reasons to think it is not that which ye labor to prevent, so much as the rending of your pontifical sleeves. That schism would be the sorest schism to you; that would be Brownism and Anabaptism indeed.

If we go down, say you, as if Adrian's wall were broken, a flood of sects will rush in. What sects? What are their opinions? Give us the inventory. It will appear both by your former prosecutions and your present instances, that they are only such to speak of, as are offended with your lawless government, your ceremonies, your liturgy, an extract of the mass book translated. But that they should be contemners of public prayer, and churches used without superstition, I trust God will manifest it ere long to be as false a slander, as your former slanders against the Scots. Noise it till ye be hoarse, that a rabble of sects will come in; it will be answered ye, No rabble, sir priest, but an unanimous multitude of good protestants will then join to the church, which now, because of you, stand separated. This will be the dreadful consequence of your removal.

As for those terrible names of sectaries and schismatics which ye have got together, we know your manner of fight; when the quiver of your arguments, which is ever thin and weakly stored, after the first brunt is quite empty, your course is to betake ye to your other quiver of slander, wherein lies your best archery. And whom you could not move by sophis-

tical arguing, them you think to confute by scandalous misnaming; thereby inciting the blinder sort of people to mislike and deride sound doctrine and good christianity, under two or three vile and hateful terms. But if we could easily endure and dissolve your doubtiest reasons in argument, we shall more easily bear the worst of your unreasonableness in calumny and false report; especially being foretold by Christ, that if he our master were by your predecessors called Samaritan and Beelzebub, we must not think it strange if his best disciples in the reformation, as at first by those of your tribe they were called Lollards and Hussites, so now by you be termed Puritans and Brownists. But my hope is, that the people of England will not suffer themselves to be juggled thus out of their faith and religion by a mist of names cast before their eyes, but will search wisely by the scriptures, and look quite through this fraudulent aspersion of a disgraceful name into the things themselves; knowing that the primitive christians in their times were accounted such as are now called Familists and Adamites, or worse. And many on the prelatic side, like the church of Sardis, have a name to live, and yet are dead; to be protestants, and are indeed papists in most of their principles. Thus persuaded, this your old fallacy we shall soon unmask, and quickly apprehend how you prevent schism, and who are your schismatics.

But what if ye prevent and hinder all good means of preventing schism? That way which the apostles used, was to call a council; from which by any thing that can be learned from the fifteenth of the Acts, no faithful christian was debarred, to whom knowledge and piety might give entrance. Of such a council as this every parochial consistory is a right homogeneous and constituting part, being in itself as it were a little

synod, and towards a general assembly moving upon her own basis in an even and firm progression, as those smaller squares in battle unite in one great cube, the main phalanx, an emblem of truth and steadfastness. Whereas, on the other side, prelaty ascending by a gradual monarchy from bishop to archbishop, from thence to primate, and from thence, for there can be no reason yielded neither in nature, nor in religion, wherefore, if it have lawfully mounted thus high, it should not be a lordly ascendant in the horoscope of the church from primate to patriarch, and so to pope; I say, prelaty thus ascending in a continual pyramid upon pretence to perfect the church's unity, if notwithstanding it be found most needful, yea, the utmost help to darn up the rents of schism by calling a council, what does it but teach us that prelaty is of no force to effect this work, which she boasts to be her masterpiece, and that her pyramid aspires and sharpens to ambition, not to perfection or unity? This we know, that as often as any great schism disparts the church, and synods be proclaimed, the presbyters have as great right there, and as free vote of old, as the bishops, which the canon law conceals not. So that prelaty, if she will seek to close up divisions in the church, must be forced to dissolve and unmake her own pyramidal figure, which she affirms to be of such uniting power, whenas indeed it is the most dividing and schismatical form that geometricians know of, and must be fain to inglobe or incube herself among the presbyters; which she hating to do, sends her haughty prelates from all parts with their forked mitres, the badge of schism, or the stamp of his cloven foot whom they serve I think, who according to their hierarchies acuminating still higher and higher in a cone of prelaty, instead of healing up the gashes of the church, as it happens in such pointed bodies meet-

ing, fall to gore one another with their sharp spires for upper place and precedence, till the council itself proves the greatest schism of all. And thus they are so far from hindering dissension, that they have made unprofitable, and even noisome, the chiefest remedy we have to keep christendom at one, which is by councils; and these, if we rightly consider apostolic example, are nothing else but general presbyteries. This seemed so far from the apostles to think much of, as if hereby their dignity were impaired, that, as we may gather by those epistles of Peter and John which are likely to be latest written, when the church grew to a settling, like those heroic patricians of Rome, if we may use such comparison, hastening to lay down their dictatorship, they rejoiced to call themselves, and to be as fellow elders among their brethren; knowing that their high office was but as the scaffolding of the church yet unbuilt, and would be but a troublesome disfigurement, so soon as the building was finished. But the lofty minds of an age or two after, such was their small discerning, thought it a poor indignity, that the high reared government of the church should so on a sudden, as it seemed to them, squat into a presbytery.

Next, or rather before councils, the timeliest prevention of schism is to preach the gospel abundantly and powerfully throughout all the land, to instruct the youth religiously, to endeavour how the scriptures may be easiest understood by all men; to all which the proceedings of these men have been on set purpose contrary.

But how, O prelates, should you remove schism? and how should you not remove and oppose all the means of removing schism? when prelaty is a schism itself from the most reformed and most flourishing of our neighbour churches abroad, and a sad subject of

discord and offence to the whole nation at home. The remedy which you allege, is the very disease we groan under; and never can be to us a remedy but by removing itself. Your predecessors were believed to assume this preeminence above their brethren, only that they might appease dissension. Now God and the church call upon you, for the same reason, to lay it down, as being to thousands of good men offensive, burdensome, intolerable. Surrender that pledge, which, unless you foully usurped it, the church gave you, and now claims it again for the reason she first lent it. Discharge the trust committed to you, prevent schism; and that ye can never do, but by discharging yourselves.

That government which ye hold, we confess, prevents much, hinders much, removes much; but what? the schisms and grievances of the church? no, but all the peace and unity, all the welfare, not of the church alone, but of the whole kingdom. And if it be still permitted ye to hold, will cause the most sad, I know not whether separation be enough to say, but such a wide gulf of distraction in this land, as will never close her dismal gap until ye be forced, for of yourselves you will never do as that Roman Curtius nobly did, for the church's peace and your country's, to leap into the midst and be no more seen. By this we shall know whether yours be that ancient prelaty, which you say was first constituted for the reducement of quiet and unanimity into the church; for then you will not delay to prefer that above your own preferment. If otherwise, we must be confident that your prelaty is nothing else but your ambition, an insolent preferring of yourselves above your brethren; and all your learned scraping in antiquity, even to disturb the bones of old Aaron and his sons in their graves, is but to maintain and set upon our necks a stately and severe dignity, which you call sacred, and

is nothing in very deed but a grave and reverend gluttony, a sanctimonious avarice, in comparison of which, all the duties and dearnesses which ye owe to God or to his church, to law, custom, or nature, ye have resolved to set at nought.

I could put you in mind what counsel Clement, a fellow laborer with the apostles, gave to the presbyters of Corinth, whom the people, though unjustly, sought to remove. 'Who among you,' saith he, 'is noble-minded, who is pitiful, who is charitable? let him say thus; If for me this sedition, this enmity, these differences be, I willingly depart, I go my ways; only let the flock of Christ be at peace with the presbyters that are set over it. He that shall do this,' saith he, 'shall get him great honor in the Lord, and all places will receive him.' This was Clement's counsel to good and holy men, that they should depart rather from their just office, than by their stay to ravel out the seamless garment of concord in the church.

But I have better counsel to give the prelates, and far more acceptable to their ears. This advice in my opinion is fitter for them; Cling fast to your pontifical sees, bate not, quit yourselves like barons, stand to the utmost for your haughty courts and votes in parliament. Still tell us, that you prevent schism, though schism and combustion be the very issue of your bodies, your first born; and set your country a bleeding in a prelatical mutiny, to fight for your pomp, and that illfavored weed of temporal honor that sits dishonorably upon your laic shoulders, that ye may be fat and fleshy, swoln with high thoughts, and big with mischievous designs, when God comes to visit upon you all this fourscore years' vexation of his church under your Egyptian tyranny. For certainly of all those blessed souls which you have persecuted, and those miserable ones which you have lost, the just vengeance does not sleep.

CHAPTER VII.

That those many Sects and Schisms by some supposed to be among us, and that Rebellion in Ireland, ought not to be a Hinderance, but Hastening of Reformation.

As for those many sects and divisions rumored abroad to be amongst us, it is not hard to perceive that they are partly the mere fictions and false alarms of the prelates, thereby to cast amazements and panic terrors into the hearts of weaker christians, that they should not venture to change the present deformity of the church, for fear of I know not what worse inconveniences. With the same objected fears and suspicions, we know that subtle prelate, Gardner, sought to divert the reformation. It may suffice us to be taught by St Paul, that there must be sects for the manifesting of those that are soundhearted. These are but winds and flaws to try the floating vessel of our faith, whether it be stanch and sail well, whether our ballast be just, our anchorage and cable strong. By this is seen who lives by faith and certain knowledge, and who by credulity and the prevailing opinion of the age; whose virtue is of an unchangeable grain, and whose of a slight wash. If God come to try our constancy, we ought not to shrink or stand the less firmly for that, but pass on with more steadfast resolution to establish the truth, though it were through a lane of sects and heresies on each side. Other things men do to the glory of God; but sects and errors, it seems, God suffers to be for the glory of good men, that the world may know and reverence their true fortitude and undaunted constancy in the truth.

Let us not therefore make these things an incumbrance, or an excuse of our delay in reforming, which

God sends us as an incitement to proceed with more honor and alacrity. For if there were no opposition, where were the trial of an unfeigned goodness and magnanimity? Virtue that wavers is not virtue, but vice revolted from itself, and after a while returning. The actions of just and pious men do not darken in their middle course; but Solomon tells us, they are as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day. But if we shall suffer the trifling doubts and jealousies of future sects to overcloud the fair beginnings of purposed reformation, let us rather fear that another proverb of the same wise man be not upbraided to us, that the way of the wicked is as darkness, they stumble at they know not what.

If sects and schisms be turbulent in the unsettled estate of a church, while it lies under the amending hand, it best beseems our christian courage to think they are but as the throes and pangs that go before the birth of reformation, and that the work itself is now in doing. For if we look but on the nature of elemental and mixed things, we know they cannot suffer any change of one kind or quality into another, without the struggle of contrarieties. And in things artificial, seldom any elegance is wrought without a superfluous waste and refuse in the transaction. No marble statue can be politely carved, no fair edifice built without almost as much rubbish and sweeping. Insomuch that even in the spiritual conflict of St Paul's conversion, there fell scales from his eyes that were not perceived before. No wonder then in the reforming of a church, which is never brought to effect without the fierce encounter of truth and falsehood together, if, as it were the splinters and shards of so violent a jousting, there fall from between the shock many fond errors and fanatic opinions, which when truth has the upper hand, and the reformation

shall be perfected, will easily be rid out of the way, or kept so low, as that they shall be only the exercise of our knowledge, not the disturbance or interruption of our faith.

As for that which Barclay, in his 'Image of Minds,' writes concerning the horrible and barbarous conceits of Englishmen in their religion, I deem it spoken like what he was, a fugitive papist traducing the island whence he sprung. It may be more judiciously gathered from hence, that the Englishman of many other nations is least atheistical, and bears a natural disposition of much reverence and awe towards the Deity; but, in his weakness and want of better instruction which among us too frequently is neglected especially by the meaner sort, turning the bent of his own wits with a scrupulous and ceaseless care what he might do to inform himself aright of God and his worship, he may fall not unlikely sometimes, as any other landman, into an uncouth opinion. And verily if we look at his native towardliness in the rough cast without breeding, some nation or other may haply be better composed to a natural civility and right judgment than he. But if he get the benefit once of a wise and well rectified nurture, which must first come in general from the godly vigilance of the church, I suppose that wherever mention is made of countries, manners, or men, the English people, among the first that shall be praised, may deserve to be accounted a right pious, right honest, and right hardy nation.

But thus, while some stand dallying and deferring to reform for fear of that which should mainly hasten them forward, lest schism and error should increase, we may now thank ourselves and our delays, if instead of schism, a bloody and inhuman rebellion be strook in between our slow movings. Indeed against violent and powerful opposition there can be no just

blame of a lingering despatch. But this I urge against those that discourse it for a maxim, as if the swift opportunities of establishing or reforming religion were to attend upon the phlegm of state business. In state, many things at first are crude and hard to digest, which only time and deliberation can supple and concoct. But in religion, wherein is no immaturity, nothing out of season, it goes far otherwise. The door of grace turns upon smooth hinges wide opening to send out, but soon shutting to recall the precious offers of mercy to a nation; which unless watchfulness and zeal, two quicksighted and readyhanded virgins, be there in our behalf to receive, we lose; and still the oftener we lose, the straighter the door opens, and the less is offered. This is all we get by demurring in God's service.

It is not rebellion that ought to be the hinderance of reformation, but it is the want of this which is the cause of that. The prelates which boast themselves the only bridlers of schism, God knows have been so cold and backward both there and with us to repress heresy and idolatry, that either through their carelessness or their craft all this mischief is befallen. What can the Irish subjects do less in God's just displeasure against us, than revenge upon English bodies the little care that our prelates have had of their souls? Nor hath their negligence been new in that island, but ever notorious in queen Elizabeth's days, as Camden, their known friend, forbears not to complain. Yet so little are they touched with remorse of these their cruelties, (for these cruelties are theirs, the bloody revenge of those souls which they have famished,) that whenas against our brethren the Scots, who by their upright and loyal deeds have now bought themselves an honorable name to posterity, whatsoever malice by slander could invent, rage in hostility attempt, they greedi-

ly attempted; toward these murderous Irish, the enemies of God and mankind, a cursed offspring of their own connivance, no man takes notice but that they seem to be very calmly and indifferently affected.

Where then should we begin to extinguish a rebellion that hath its cause from the misgovernment of the church? where, but at the church's reformation, and the removal of that government which pursues and wars with all good christians under the name of schismatics, but maintains and fosters all papists and idolaters as tolerable christians? And if the sacred Bible may be our light, we are neither without example, nor the witness of God himself, that the corrupted estate of the church is both the cause of tumult and civil wars, and that to stint them, the peace of the church must first be settled. 'Now for a long season,' saith Azariah to king Asa, 'Israel hath been without the true God, and without a teaching priest, and without law; and in those times there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the countries. And nation was destroyed of nation, and city of city, for God did vex them with all adversity. Be ye strong therefore,' saith he to the reformers of that age, 'and let not your hands be weak, for your work shall be rewarded.' And in those prophets that lived in the times of reformation after the captivity, often doth God stir up the people to consider, that while establishment of church matters was neglected and put off, there 'was no peace to him that went out or came in; for I,' saith God, 'had set all men every one against his neighbour.' But from the very day forward that they went seriously and effectually about the welfare of the church, he tells them that they themselves might perceive the sudden change of things into a prosperous and peaceful condition.

But it will here be said, that the reformation is a long work, and the miseries of Ireland are urgent of a speedy redress. They be indeed; and how speedy we are, the poor afflicted remnant of our martyred countrymen that sit there on the seashore, counting the hours of our delay with their sighs, and the minutes with their falling tears, perhaps with the distilling of their bloody wounds, if they have not quite by this time cast off, and almost cursed the vain hope of our foundered ships and aids, can best judge how speedy we are to their relief. But let their succours be hasted, as all need and reason is; and let not therefore the reformation, which is the chiefest cause of success and victory, be still procrastinated. They of the captivity in their greatest extremities could find both counsel and hands enough at once to build, and to expect the enemy's assault. And we for our parts, a populous and mighty nation, must needs be fallen into a strange plight either of effeminacy or confusion, if Ireland, that was once the conquest of one single earl with his private forces, and the small assistance of a petty Kernish prince, should now take up all the wisdom and prowess of this potent monarchy, to quell a barbarous crew of rebels, whom if we take but the right course to subdue, that is, beginning at the reformation of our church, their own horrid murders and rapes will so fight against them, that the very sutlers and horseboys of the camp will be able to rout and chase them, without the staining of any noble sword. To proceed by other method in this enterprise, be our captains and commanders never so expert, will be as great an error in the art of war, as any novice in soldiership ever committed. And thus I leave it as a declared truth, that neither the fear of sects, no, nor rebellion, can be a fit plea to stay reformation, but rather to push it forward with all possible diligence and speed.

THE

REASON OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT

URGED AGAINST PRELATY.

THE SECOND BOOK.

How happy were it for this frail, and as it may be truly called, mortal life of man, since all earthly things which have the name of good and convenient in our daily use, are withal so cumbersome and full of trouble, if knowledge, yet which is the best and lightsomest possession of the mind, were, as the common saying is, no burden; and that what it wanted of being a load to any part of the body, it did not with a heavy advantage overlay upon the spirit! For not to speak of that knowledge that rests in the contemplation of natural causes and dimensions, which must needs be a lower wisdom, as the object is low, certain it is, that he who hath obtained in more than the scantiest measure to know any thing distinctly of God, and of his true worship, and what is infallibly good and happy in the state of man's life, what in itself evil and miserable, though vulgarly not so esteemed; he that hath obtained to know this, the only high valuable wisdom indeed, remembering also that God, even to a strictness, requires the improvement of these his entrusted gifts, cannot but sustain a sorer burden of mind, and more pressing than any supportable toil or weight which the body can labor under, how and in what

manner he shall dispose and employ those sums of knowledge and illumination, which God hath sent him into this world to trade with.

And that which aggravates the burden more, is, that, having received amongst his allotted parcels, certain precious truths of such an orient lustre as no diamond can equal, which nevertheless he has in charge to put off at any cheap rate, yea, for nothing to them that will, the great merchants of this world, fearing that this course would soon discover and disgrace the false glitter of their deceitful wares wherewith they abuse the people, like poor Indians with beads and glasses, practise by all means how they may suppress the vending of such rarities, and at such a cheapness as would undo them, and turn their trash upon their hands. Therefore, by gratifying the corrupt desires of men in fleshly doctrines, they stir them up to persecute with hatred and contempt all those that seek to bear themselves uprightly in this their spiritual factory; which they foreseeing, though they cannot but testify of truth and the excellency of that heavenly traffic which they bring, against what opposition or danger soever, yet needs must it sit heavily upon their spirits, that being in God's prime intention and their own, selected heralds of peace, and dispensers of treasure inestimable, without price to them that have no pence, they find in the discharge of their commission, that they are made the greatest variance and offence, a very sword and fire both in house and city over the whole earth. This is that which the sad prophet Jeremiah laments; 'Wo is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me a man of strife and contention!' And although divine inspiration must certainly have been sweet to those ancient prophets, yet the irksomeness of that truth which they brought, was so unpleasant unto them, that everywhere they call it a

burden. Yea, that mysterious book of Revelation, which the great evangelist was bid to eat, as it had been some eyebrightening electuary of knowledge and foresight, though it were sweet in his mouth, and in the learning, it was bitter in his belly, bitter in the denouncing. Nor was this hid from the wise poet Sophocles, who, in that place of his tragedy, where Tiresias is called to resolve king Œdipus in a matter which he knew would be grievous, brings him in bemoaning his lot, that he knew more than other men. For surely to every good and peaceable man, it must in nature needs be a hateful thing to be the displeaser and molester of thousands; much better would it like him doubtless to be the messenger of gladness and contentment, which is his chief intended business to all mankind, but that they resist and oppose their own true happiness.

But when God commands to take the trumpet, and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall say, or what he shall conceal. If he shall think to be silent, as Jeremiah did, because of the reproach and derision he met with daily, 'and all his familiar friends watched for his halting,' to be revenged on him for speaking the truth, he would be forced to confess as he confessed, 'his word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones; I was weary with forbearing, and could not stay;' which might teach these times not suddenly to condemn all things that are sharply spoken, or vehemently written, as proceeding out of stomach, virulence, and illnature; but to consider rather that if the prelates have leave to say the worst that can be said, or do the worst that can be done, while they strive to keep to themselves, to their great pleasure and commodity, those things which they ought to render up, no man can be justly offended with him that shall en-

deavour to impart and bestow, without any gain to himself, those sharp but saving words, which would be a terror and a torment in him to keep back. For me, I have determined to lay up as the best treasure and solace of a good old age, if God vouchsafe it me, the honest liberty of free speech from my youth, where I shall think it available in so dear a concernment as the church's good. For if I be either by disposition or what other cause, too inquisitive, or suspicious of myself and mine own doings, who can help it? But this I foresee, that should the church be brought under heavy oppression, and God have given me ability the while to reason against that man that should be the author of so foul a deed, or should she, by blessing from above on the industry and courage of faithful men, change this her distracted estate into better days, without the least furtherance or contribution of those few talents which God at that present had lent me; I foresee what stories I should hear within myself, all my life after, of discourage and reproach. 'Timorous and ungrateful, the church of God is now again at the foot of her insulting enemies, and thou bewailest; what matters it for thee, or thy bewailing? When time was, thou couldst not find a syllable of all that thou hast read or studied, to utter in her behalf. Yet ease and leisure was given thee for thy retired thoughts, out of the sweat of other men. Thou hadst the diligence, the parts, the language of a man, if a vain subject were to be adorned or beautified; but when the cause of God and his church was to be pleaded, for which purpose that tongue was given thee which thou hast, God listened if he could hear thy voice among his zealous servants, but thou wert dumb as a beast; from henceforward be that which thine own brutish silence hath made thee.'

Or else I should have heard on the other ear;

'Slothful, and ever to be set light by, the church hath now overcome her late distresses after the unwearied labors of many her true servants that stood up in her defence; thou also wouldst take upon thee to share amongst them of their joy; but wherefore thou? Where canst thou show any word or deed of thine which might have hastened her peace? Whatever thou dost now talk, or write, or look, is the alms of other men's active prudence and zeal. Dare not now to say, or do any thing better than thy former sloth and infancy; or if thou darest, thou dost impudently to make a thrifty purchase of boldness to thyself, out of the painful merits of other men; what before was thy sin, is now thy duty, to be abject and worthless.'

These, and such like lessons as these, I know would have been my matins duly, and my evensong. But now by this little diligence, mark what a privilege I have gained with good men and saints, to claim my right of lamenting the tribulations of the church, if she should suffer, when others that have ventured nothing for her sake, have not the honor to be admitted mourners. But, if she lift up her drooping head and prosper, among those that have something more than wished her welfare, I have my charter and freehold of rejoicing to me and my heirs.

Concerning therefore this wayward subject against prelaty, the touching whereof is so distasteful and disquietous to a number of men, as by what hath been said I may deserve of charitable readers to be credited, that neither envy nor gall hath entered me upon this controversy, but the enforcement of conscience only, and a preventive fear lest the omitting of this duty should be against me when I would store up to myself the good provision of peaceful hours; so, lest it should be still imputed to me, as I have found it hath been, that some selfpleas-

ing humor of vainglory hath incited me to contest with men of high estimation, now while green years are upon my head; from this needless surmisal I shall hope to dissuade the intelligent and equal auditor, if I can but say successfully that which in this exigent behoves me, although I would be heard only, if it might be, by the elegant and learned reader, to whom principally for a while I shall beg leave I may address myself. To him it will be no new thing, though I tell him that if I hunted after praise by the ostentation of wit and learning, I should not write thus out of mine own season, when I have neither yet completed to my mind the full circle of my private studies, although I complain not of any insufficiency to the matter in hand; or were I ready to my wishes, it were a folly to commit any thing elaborately composed, to the careless and interrupted listening of these tumultuous times.

Next, if I were wise only to my own ends, I would certainly take such a subject as of itself might catch applause, whereas this hath all the disadvantages on the contrary, and such a subject as the publishing whereof might be delayed at pleasure, and time enough to pencil it over with all the curious touches of art, even to the perfection of a faultless picture; whenas in this argument, the not deferring is of great moment to the good speeding, that if solidity have leisure to do her office, art cannot have much.

Lastly, I should not choose this manner of writing, wherein knowing myself inferior to myself, led by the genial power of nature to another task, I have the use, as I may account, but of my left hand. And though I shall be foolish in saying more to this purpose, yet since it will be such a folly as wisest men go about to commit, having only confessed and so committed, I may trust with more reason, because with more folly,

to have courteous pardon. For although a poet, soaring in the high region of his fancies, with his garland and singing robes about him, might, without apology, speak more of himself than I mean to do; yet for me sitting here below in the cool element of prose, a mortal thing among many readers of no empyreal conceit, to venture and divulge unusual things of myself, I shall petition to the gentler sort, it may not be envy to me.

I must say, therefore, that after I had for my first years, by the ceaseless diligence and care of my father, whom God recompense! been exercised to the tongues, and some sciences, as my age would suffer, by sundry masters and teachers both at home and at the schools, it was found, that whether aught was imposed me by them that had the overlooking, or betaken to of mine own choice in English, or other tongue, prosing or versing, but chiefly this latter, the style, by certain vital signs it had, was likely to live. But much latelier in the private academies of Italy, whither I was favored to resort, perceiving that some trifles which I had in memory, composed at under twenty or thereabout, (for the manner is, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there,) met with acceptance above what was looked for; and other things, which I had shifted in scarcity of books and conveniences to patch up amongst them, were received with written encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps; I began thus far to assent both to them and divers of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labor and intent study, which I take to be my portion in this life, joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to after times, as they should not willingly let it die.

These thoughts at once possessed me, and these other; that if I were certain to write as men buy leases, for three lives and downward, there ought no regard be sooner had than to God's glory, by the honor and instruction of my country. For which cause, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the second rank among the Latins, I applied myself to that resolution which Ariosto followed against the persuasions of Bembo, to fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue; not to make verbal curiosities the end, that were a toilsome vanity, but to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things among mine own citizens throughout this island in the mother dialect, that what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I, in my proportion, with this over and above, of being a christian, might do for mine, not caring to be once named abroad, though perhaps I could attain to that, but content with these British islands as my world, whose fortune hath hitherto been, that if the Athenians, as some say, made their small deeds great and renowned by their eloquent writers, England hath had her noble achievements made small by the unskilful handling of monks and mechanics.

Time serves not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the spacious circuits of her musing, hath liberty to propose to herself, though of highest hope, and hardest attempting; whether that epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a diffuse, and the book of Job a brief model; or whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be followed, which, in them that know art and use judgment,

is no trangression, but an enriching of art; and lastly, what king or knight before the conquest, might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a christian hero. And as Tasso gave to a prince of Italy his choice, whether he would command him to write of Godfrey's expedition against the infidels, or Belisarius against the Goths, or Charlemain against the Lombards; if to the instinct of nature and the emboldening of art aught may be trusted, and that there be nothing adverse in our climate, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashness from an equal diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in our own ancient stories; or whether those dramatic constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation. The scripture also affords us a divine pastoral drama in the song of Solomon, consisting of two persons, and a double chorus, as Origen rightly judges. And the Apocalypse of St John is the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies; and this my opinion the grave authority of Pareus, commenting that book, is sufficient to confirm. Or if occasion shall lead, to imitate those magnific odes and hymns wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their matter most an end faulty. But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear, over all the kinds of lyric poesy, to be incomparable.

These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God rarely bestowed, but yet to some, though most abuse, in every nation; and are of power, beside the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish

in a great people the seeds of virtue, and public civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his church; to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations, doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general relapses of kingdoms and states from justice and God's true worship; lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and refluxes of man's thoughts from within; all these things with a solid and treatable smoothness to paint out and describe, teaching over the whole book of sanctity and virtue, through all the instances of example, with such delight to those especially of soft and delicious temper, who will not so much as look upon truth herself, unless they see her elegantly dressed, that whereas the paths of honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed easy and pleasant, they will then appear to all men both easy and pleasant, though they were rugged and difficult indeed. And what a benefit this would be to our youth and gentry, may be soon guessed by what we know of the corruption and bane, which they suck in daily from the writings and interludes of libidinous and ignorant poetasters, who, having scarce ever heard of that which is the main consistence of a true poem, the choice of such persons as they ought to introduce, and what is moral and decent to each one, do for the most part lay up vicious principles in sweet pills to be swallowed down, and make the taste of virtuous documents harsh and sour.

But because the spirit of man cannot demean itself lively in this body, without some recreating intermission of labor and serious things, it were happy for the commonwealth, if our magistrates, as in those famous governments of old, would take into their care, not only the deciding of our contentious law cases and brawls, but the managing of our public sports and festival pastimes, that they might be, not such as were authorized a while since, the provocations of drunkenness and lust, but such as may inure and harden our bodies by martial exercises to all warlike skill and performance; and may civilize, adorn, and make discreet our minds by the learned and affable meeting of frequent academies, and the procurement of wise and artful recitations, sweetened with eloquent and graceful enticements to the love and practice of justice, temperance, and fortitude, instructing and bettering the nation at all opportunities, that the call of wisdom and virtue may be heard every where, as Solomon saith; 'She crieth without, she uttereth her voice in the streets, in the top of high places, in the chief concourse, and in the openings of the gates.' Whether this may not be, not only in pulpits, but after another persuasive method, at set and solemn panegyries, in theatres, porches, or what other place or way may win most upon the people to receive at once both recreation and instruction, let them in authority consult.

The thing which I had to say, and those intentions which have lived within me ever since I could conceive myself any thing worth to my country, I return to crave excuse that urgent reason hath plucked from me, by an abortive and foredated discovery. And the accomplishment of them lies not but in a power above man's to promise; but that none hath by more studious ways endeavoured, and with more unwearied

spirit that none shall, that I dare almost aver of myself, as far as life and free leisure will extend; and that the land had once enfranchised herself from this impertinent yoke of prelaty, under whose inquisitorious and tyrannical duncery, no free and splendid wit can flourish. Neither do I think it shame to covenant with any knowing reader, that for some few years yet I may go on trust with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapors of wine, like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amorist, or the trencher fury of a rhyming parasite, nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame Memory and her siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases. To this must be added industrious and select reading, steady observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs; till which in some measure be compassed, at mine own peril and cost, I refuse not to sustain this expectation from as many as are not loth to hazard so much credulity upon the best pledges that I can give them.

Although it nothing content me to have disclosed thus much beforehand, but that I trust hereby to make it manifest with what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies, to come into the dim reflection of hollow antiquities sold by the seeming bulk, and there be fain to club quotations with men whose

learning and belief lies in marginal stuffings, who, when they have, like good sumpters, laid ye down their horseload of citations and fathers at your door, with a rhapsody of who and who were bishops here or there, ye may take off their packsaddles, their day's work is done, and episcopacy, as they think, stoutly vindicated. Let any gentle apprehension that can distinguish learned pains from unlearned drudgery, imagine what pleasure or profoundness can be in this, or what honor to deal against such adversaries. But were it the meanest underservice, if God by his secretary conscience enjoin it, it were sad for me if I should draw back; for me especially, now when all men offer their aid to help, ease, and lighten the difficult labors of the church, to whose service, by the intentions of my parents and friends I was destined of a child, and in mine own resolutions, till coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either straight perjure, or split his faith, I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and foreswearing. Howsoever thus churchouted by the prelates, hence may appear the right I have to meddle in these matters, as before the necessity and constraint appeared.

CHAPTER I.

That Prelaty opposeth the Reason and End of the Gospel three ways; and first in her outward Form.

After this digression, it would remain that I should single out some other reason, which might undertake for prelaty to be a fit and lawful church government; but finding none of like validity with these that have already sped according to their fortune, I shall add one reason why it is not to be thought a church government at all, but a church tyranny, and is at hostile terms with the end and reason of Christ's evangelic ministry. Albeit I must confess to be half in doubt whether I should bring it forth or no, it being so contrary to the eye of the world, and the world so potent in most men's hearts, that I shall endanger either not to be regarded, or not to be understood. For who is there almost that measures wisdom by simplicity, strength by suffering, dignity by lowliness? Who is there that counts it first to be last, something to be nothing, and reckons himself of great command in that he is a servant? Yet God, when he meant to subdue the world and hell at once, part of that to salvation, and this wholly to perdition, made choice of no other weapons or auxiliaries than these, whether to save or to destroy. It had been a small mastery for him to have drawn out his legions into array, and flanked them with his thunder; therefore he sent foolishness to confute wisdom, weakness to bind strength, despisedness to vanquish pride; and this is the great mystery of the gospel made good in Christ himself, who, as he testifies, came not to be ministered to, but to minister, and must be fulfilled in all his ministers till his second coming. To go against these

principles St Paul so feared, that if he should but affect the wisdom of words in his preaching, he thought it would be laid to his charge, that he had made the cross of Christ to be of none effect. Whether, then, prelaty do not make of none effect the cross of Christ, by the principles it hath so contrary to these, nullifying the power and end of the gospel, it shall not want due proof, if it want not due belief.

Neither shall I stand to trifle with one that would tell me of quiddities and formalities, whether prelaty or prelateity in abstract notion be this or that; it suffices me that I find it in his skin, so I find it inseparable, or not oftener otherwise than a phœnix hath been seen; although I persuade me that whatever faultiness was but superficial to prelaty at the beginning, is now by the just judgment of God, long since branded and inworn into the very essence thereof.

First, therefore, if to do the work of the gospel, Christ our Lord took upon him the form of a servant; how can his servant in this ministry take upon him the form of a lord? I know Bilson hath deciphered us all the galantries of Signore and Monsignore, and Monsieur, as circumstantially as any punctualist of Castile, Naples, or Fountain-Bleau could have done; but this must not so compliment us out of our right minds, as to be to learn that the form of a servant was a mean, laborious, and vulgar life, aptest to teach; which form Christ thought fittest, that he might bring about his will according to his own principles, choosing the meaner things of this world, that he might put under the high. Now whether the pompous garb, the lordly life, the wealth, the haughty distance of prelaty be those meaner things of the world, whereby God in them would manage the mystery of his gospel, be it the verdict of common sense. For Christ saith in St John, 'The servant is not greater than his lord, nor

he that is sent, greater than he that sent him,' and adds, 'If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.' Then let the prelates well advise, if they neither know, nor do these things, or if they know, and yet do them not, wherein their happiness consists. And thus is the gospel frustrated by the lordly form of prelaty.

CHAPTER II.

That the ceremonious Doctrine of Prelaty opposeth the Reason and End of the Gospel.

THAT which next declares the heavenly power, and reveals the deep mystery of the gospel, is the pure simplicity of doctrine, accounted the foolishness of this world, yet crossing and confounding the pride and wisdom of the flesh. And wherein consists this fleshly wisdom and pride? In being altogether ignorant of God and his worship? No, surely, for men are naturally ashamed of that. Where then? It consists in a bold presumption of ordering the worship and service of God after man's own will in traditions and ceremonies. Now if the pride and wisdom of the flesh were to be defeated and confounded, no doubt but in that very point wherein it was proudest, and thought itself wisest, that so the victory of the gospel might be the more illustrious. But our prelates, instead of expressing the spiritual power of their ministry, by warring against this chief bulwark and strong hold of the flesh, have entered into fast league with the principal enemy against whom they were sent, and turned the strength of fleshly pride and wisdom against the pure simplicity of saving truth.

First, mistrusting to find the authority of their order

in the immediate institution of Christ, or his apostles, by the clear evidence of scripture, they fly to the carnal supportment of tradition; when we appeal to the Bible, they to the unwieldy volumes of tradition; and do not shame to reject the ordinance of him that is eternal, for the perverse iniquity of sixteen hundred years; choosing rather to think truth itself a liar, than that sixteen ages should be taxed with an error; not considering the general apostasy that was foretold, and the church's flight into the wilderness. Nor is this enough. Instead of showing the reason of their lowly condition from divine example and command, they seek to prove their high preeminence from human consent and authority. But let them chant while they will of prerogatives, we shall tell them of scripture; of custom, we of scripture; of acts and statutes, still of scripture, till the quick and piercing word enter to the dividing of their souls, and the mighty weakness of the gospel throw down the weak mightiness of man's reasoning.

Now for their demeanour within the church, how have they disfigured and defaced that more than angelic brightness, the unclouded serenity of christian religion, with the dark overcasting of superstitious copes and flaminical vestures, wearing on their backs, and I abhor to think, perhaps in some worse place, the inexpressible image of God the Father! Tell me, ye priests, wherefore this gold, wherefore these robes and surplices over the gospel? Is our religion guilty of the first trespass, and hath need of clothing to cover her nakedness? What does this else but cast an ignominy upon the perfection of Christ's ministry, by seeking to adorn it with that which was the poor remedy of our shame? Believe it, wondrous doctors, all corporeal resemblances of inward holiness and beauty are now past; he that will clothe the gospel

now, intimates plainly, that the gospel is naked, uncomely, that I may not say reproachful. Do not, ye churchmaskers, while Christ is clothing upon our barrenness with his righteous garment, to make us acceptable in his Father's sight, do not, as ye do, cover and hide his righteous verity with the polluted clothing of your ceremonies, to make it seem more decent in your own eyes. 'How beautiful,' saith Isaiah, 'are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth salvation!' Are the feet so beautiful, and and is the very bringing of these tidings so decent of itself? What new decency can then be added to this by your spinstry? Ye think by these gaudy glisterings to stir up the devotion of the rude multitude; ye think so, because ye forsake the heavenly teaching of St Paul for the hellish sophistry of papism. If the multitude be rude, the lips of the preacher must give knowledge, and not ceremonies. And although some Christians be newborn babes comparatively to some that are stronger, yet in respect of ceremony, which is but a rudiment of the law, the weakest Christian hath thrown off the robes of his minority, and is a perfect man, as to legal rites. What children's food there is in the gospel, we know to be no other than the 'sincerity of the word, that they may grow thereby.'

But is here the utmost of your outbraving the service of God? No. Ye have been bold, not to set your threshold by his threshold, or your posts by his posts, but your sacrament, your sign, call it what you will, by his sacrament, baptizing the christian infant with a solemn sprinkle, and unbaptizing for your own part with a profane and impious forefinger; as if when ye had laid the purifying element upon his forehead, ye meant to cancel and cross it out again with a character not of God's bidding. O but the inno-

cence of these ceremonies! O rather the sottish absurdity of this excuse! What could be more innocent than the washing of a cup, a glass, or hands before meat, and that under the law when so many washings were commanded, and by long tradition? Yet our Saviour detested their customs, though never so seeming harmless, and charges them severely that they had transgressed the commandments of God by their traditions, and worshipped him in vain. How much more then must these and much grosser ceremonies now in force, delude the end of Christ's coming in the flesh against the flesh, and stifle the sincerity of our new covenant, which hath bound us to forsake all carnal pride and wisdom, especially in matters of religion? Thus we see again how prelaty, sailing in opposition to the main end and power of the gospel, doth not join in that mysterious work of Christ, by lowliness to confound height, by simplicity of doctrine the wisdom of the world, but contrariwise hath made itself high in the world and the flesh, to vanquish things by the world accounted low, and made itself wise in tradition and fleshly ceremony, to confound the purity of doctrine which is the wisdom of God.

CHAPTER III.

That Prelatical Jurisdiction opposeth the Reason and End of the Gospel and of State.

THE third and last consideration remains, whether the prelates in their function do work according to the gospel, practising to subdue the mighty things of this world by things weak, which St Paul hath set forth to be the power and excellence of the gospel; or whether in more likelihood they band themselves with the pre-

valent things of this world, to overrun the weak things which Christ hath made choice to work by; and this will soonest be discerned by the course of their jurisdiction.

But here again I find my thoughts almost in suspense betwixt yea and no, and am nigh turning mine eye which way I may best retire, and not proceed in this subject, blaming the ardency of my mind that fixed me too attentively to come thus far. For truth I know not how, hath this unhappiness fatal to her, ere she can come to the trial and inspection of the understanding; being to pass through many little wards and limits of the several affections and desires, she cannot shift it, but must put on such colors and attire, as those pathetic handmaids of the soul please to lead her in to their queen; and if she find so much favor with them, they let her pass in her own likeness; if not, they bring her into the presence habited and colored like a notorious falsehood. And contrary, when any falsehood comes that way, if they like the errand she brings, they are so artful to counterfeit the very shape and visage of truth, that the understanding, not being able to discern the fucus which these enchantresses with such cunning have laid upon the feature sometimes of truth, sometimes of falsehood interchangeably, sentences for the most part one for the other at the first blush, according to the subtle imposture of these sensual mistresses that keep the ports and passages between her and the object. So that were it not for leaving imperfect that which is already said, I should go near to relinquish that which is to follow. And because I see that most men, as it happens in this world, either weakly or falsely principled, what through ignorance, and what through custom of license, both in discourse and writing, by what hath been of late written in vulgar, have not seemed to at-

tain the decision of this point; I shall likewise assay those wily arbitresses, who in most men have, as was heard, the sole ushering of truth and falsehood between the sense and the soul, with what loyalty they will use me in convoying this truth to my understanding, the rather for that by as much acquaintance as I can obtain with them, I do not find them engaged either one way or the other.

Concerning therefore ecclesiastical jurisdiction, I find still more controversy, who should administer it, than diligent inquiry made to learn what it is; for had the pains been taken to search out that, it had been long ago enrolled to be nothing else but a pure tyrannical forgery of the prelates, and that jurisdictive power in the church there ought to be none at all. It cannot be conceived that what men now call jurisdiction in the church, should be other thing than a christian censorship; and therefore it is most commonly and truly named ecclesiastical censure. Now if the Roman censor, a civil function, to that severe assize of surveying and controlling the privatest and slyest manners of all men and all degrees, had no jurisdiction, no courts of plea, or indictment, no punitive force annexed; whether it were that to this manner of correction the entanglement of suits was improper, or that the notice of those upright inquisitors extended to such the most covert and spiritous vices as would slip easily between the wider and more material grasp of the law, or that it stood more with the majesty of that office to have no other serjeants or maces about them but those invisible ones of terror and shame, or lastly, were it their fear, lest the greatness of this authority and honor, armed with jurisdiction, might step with ease into a tyranny; in all these respects, with much more reason undoubtedly ought the censure of the church be quite divested and disentailed of all jurisdiction

whatsoever. For if the course of judicature to a political censorship seem either too tedious, or too contentious, much more may it to the discipline of the church, whose definitive decrees are to be speedy, but the execution of rigor slow, contrary to what in legal proceedings is most usual; and by how much the less contentious it is, by so much will it be the more christian.

And if the censor, in his moral episcopy, being to judge most in matters not answerable by writ or action, could not use an instrument so gross and bodily as jurisdiction is, how can the minister of the gospel manage the corpulent and secular trial of bill and process in things merely spiritual? Or could that Roman office, without this juridical sword or saw, strike such a reverence of itself into the most undaunted hearts, as with one single dash of ignominy to put all the senate and knighthood of Rome into a tremble, surely much rather might the heavenly ministry of the evangel bind herself about with far more piercing beams of majesty and awe, by wanting the beggarly help of halings and amercements in the use of her powerful keys. For when the church without temporal support is able to do her great works upon the unforced obedience of men, it argues a divinity about her. But when she thinks to credit and better her spiritual efficacy, and to win herself respect and dread by strutting in the false vizard of worldly authority, it is evident that God is not there, but that her apostolic virtue is departed from her, and hath left her key-cold; which she perceiving, as in a decayed nature, seeks to the outward fomentations and chafings of worldly help, and external flourishes, to fetch, if it be possible, some motion into her extreme parts, or to hatch a counterfeit life with the crafty and artificial heat of jurisdiction. But it is observable, that so long

as the church, in true imitation of Christ, can be content to ride upon an ass, carrying herself and her government along in a mean and simple guise, she may be, as he is, a lion of the tribe of Judah, and in her humility all men with loud hosannas will confess her greatness. But when despising the mighty operation of the Spirit by the weak things of this world, she thinks to make herself bigger and more considerable, by using the way of civil force and jurisdiction, as she sits upon this lion she changes into an ass, and instead of hosannas every man pelts her with stones and dirt.

Lastly, if the wisdom of the Romans feared to commit jurisdiction to an office of so high esteem and dread as was the censor's, we may see what a solecism in the art of policy it hath been all this while through Christendom to give jurisdiction to ecclesiastical censure. For that strength, joined with religion, abused and pretended to ambitious ends, must of necessity breed the heaviest and most quelling tyranny, not only upon the necks, but even to the souls of men; which if christian Rome had been so cautelous to prevent in her church, as pagan Rome was in her state, we had not had such a lamentable experience thereof as now we have from thence upon all Christendom. For although I said before, that the church, coveting to ride upon the lionly form of jurisdiction, makes a transformation of herself into an ass, and becomes despicable, that is, to those whom God hath enlightened with true knowledge; but where they remain yet in the relics of superstition, this is the extremity of their bondage and blindness, that while they think they do obeisance to the lordly vision of a lion, they do it to an ass, that through the just judgment of God is permitted to play the dragon among them because of their wilful stupidity. And let England here well rub her eyes, lest

by leaving jurisdiction and church censure to the same persons, now that God hath been so long medicining her eyesight, she do not with her over politic fetches mar all, and bring herself back again to worship this ass bestriding a lion.

Having hitherto explained, that to ecclesiastical censure no jurisdictive power can be added, without a childish and dangerous oversight in policy, and a pernicious contradiction in evangelic discipline, as anon more fully, it will be next to declare wherein the true reason and force of church censure consists, which by then it shall be laid open to the root; so little is it that I fear lest any crookedness, any wrinkle or spot should be found in presbyterian government, that if Bodin the famous French writer, though a papist, yet affirms that the commonwealth which maintains this discipline will certainly flourish in virtue and piety, I dare assure myself that every true protestant will admire the integrity, the uprightness, the divine and gracious purposes thereof, and even for the reason of it, so coherent with the doctrine of the gospel, beside the evidence of command in scripture, will confess it to be the only true church government; and that contrary to the whole end and mystery of Christ's coming in the flesh, a false appearance of the same is exercised by prelaty.

But because some count it rigorous, and that hereby men shall be liable to a double punishment, I will begin somewhat higher, and speak of punishment; which, as it is an evil, I esteem to be of two sorts, or rather two degrees only, a reprobate conscience in this life, and hell in the other world. Whatever else men call punishment or censure, is not properly an evil, so it be not an illegal violence, but a saving medicine ordained of God both for the public and private good of man, who, consisting of two parts, the inward

and the outward, was by the eternal Providence left under two sorts of cure, the church and the magistrate.

The magistrate hath only to deal with the outward part, I mean not of the body alone, but of the mind in all her outward acts, which in scripture is called the outward man. So that it would be helpful to us, if we might borrow such authority as the rhetoricians by patent may give us, with a kind of Promethean skill, to shape and fashion this outward man into the similitude of a body, and set him visible before us, imagining the inner man only as the soul. Thus, then, the civil magistrate, looking only upon the outward man, (I say as a magistrate, for what he doth further, he doth it as a member of the church,) if he find in his complexion, skin, or outward temperature the signs and marks, or in his doings, the effects of injustice, rapine, lust, cruelty, or the like, sometimes he shuts up as in phrenetic or infectious diseases, or confines within doors, as in every sickly estate. Sometimes he shaves by penalty or mulct, or else to cool and take down those luxuriant humors, which wealth and excess have caused to abound. Otherwhiles he sears, he cauterizes, he scarifies, lets blood; and finally, for utmost remedy, cuts off. The patients, which most an end are brought into his hospital, are such as are far gone, and beside themselves, unless they be falsely accused so that force is necessary to tame and quiet them in their unruly fits, before they can be made capable of a more humane cure. His general end is the outward peace and welfare of the commonwealth, and civil happiness in this life. His particular end in every man is, by the infliction of pain, damage, and disgrace, that the senses and common perceivance might carry this message to the soul within, that it is neither easeful, profitable, nor praiseworthy in this life to do evil;

which must needs tend to the good of man, whether he be to live or die, and be undoubtedly the first means to a natural man, especially an offender, which might open his eyes to a higher consideration of good and evil, as it is taught in religion. This is seen in the often penitence of those that suffer, who, had they escaped, had gone on sinning to an immeasurable heap, which is one of the extremest punishments.

And this is all that the civil magistrate, as so being, confers to the healing of man's mind, working only by terrifying plasters upon the rind and orifice of the sore, and by all outward appliances, as the logicians say, a posteriori, at the effect, and not from the cause, not once touching the inward bed of corruption, and that hectic disposition to evil, the source of all vice and obliquity against the rule of law; which how insufficient it is to cure the soul of man, we cannot better guess than by the art of bodily physic. Therefore God, to the intent of further healing man's depraved mind, to this power of the magistrate, which contents itself with the restraint of evil doing in the external man, added that which we call censure, to purge it and remove it clean out of the inmost soul.

In the beginning, this authority seems to have been placed, as all both civil and religious rites once were, only in each father of a family; afterwards, among the heathen, in the wise men and philosophers of the age; but so as it was a thing voluntary, and no set government; more distinctly among the Jews, as being God's peculiar people, where the priests, Levites, prophets, and at last the scribes and pharisees took charge of instructing and overseeing the lives of the people. But in the gospel, which is the straightest and the dearest covenant can be made between God and man, we being now his adopted sons, and nothing fitter for us to think on than to be like him, united to him, and,

as he pleases to express it, to have fellowship with him, it is all necessity that we should expect this blessed efficacy of healing our inward man to be ministered to us in a more familiar and effectual method than ever before; God being now no more a judge after the sentence of the law, nor, as it were, a schoolmaster of perishable rites, but a most indulgent father, governing his church as a family of sons in their discreet age; and therefore in the sweetest and mildest manner of paternal discipline, he hath committed this other office of preserving in healthful constitution the inner man, which may be termed the spirit of the soul, to his spiritual deputy the minister of each congregation, who being best acquainted with his own flock, hath best reason to know all the secretest diseases likely to be there. And look by how much the internal man is more excellent and noble than the external, by so much is his cure more exactly, more thoroughly, and more particularly to be performed.

For which cause, the Holy Ghost, by the apostles, joined to the minister, as assistant in this great office, sometimes a certain number of grave and faithful brethren; for neither doth the physician do all in restoring his patient; he prescribes, another prepares the medicine; some tend, some watch, some visit; much more may a minister partly not see all, partly err as a man; besides, that nothing can be more for the mutual honor and love of the people to their pastor, and his to them, than when in select numbers and courses they are seen partaking, and doing reverence to the holy duties of discipline by their serviceable and solemn presence, and receiving honor again from their employment, not now any more to be separated in the church by vails and partitions as laics and unclean, but admitted to wait upon the tabernacle as the rightful clergy of Christ, a chosen generation, a royal

priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifice in that meet place to which God and the congregation shall call and assign them. And this all Christians ought to know, that the title of clergy St Peter gave to all God's people, till pope Higinus and the succeeding prelates took it from them, appropriating that name to themselves and their priests only, and, condemning the rest of God's inheritance to an injurious and alienate condition of laity, they separated from them by local partitions in churches, through their gross ignorance and pride imitating the old temple, and excluding the members of Christ from the property of being members, the bearing of orderly and fit offices in the ecclesiastical body; as if they had meant to sew up that Jewish vail which Christ by his death on the cross rent in sunder; although these usurpers could not so presently overmaster the liberties and lawful titles of God's freeborn church, but that Origen, being yet a layman, expounded the scriptures publicly, and was therein defended by Alexander of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus of Cæsarea, producing in his behalf divers examples, that the privilege of teaching was anciently permitted to many worthy laymen; and Cyprian in his epistles professes he will do nothing without the advice and assent of his assistant laics. Neither did the first Nicene council, as great and learned as it was, think it any robbery to receive in, and require the help and presence of many learned lay brethren, as they were then called. Many other authorities to confirm this assertion, both out of scripture and the writings of next antiquity, Golartius hath collected in his notes upon Cyprian; whereby it will be evident, that the laity, not only by apostolic permission, but by consent of many of the ancientest prelates, did participate in church offices as much as is desired any lay elder should now do.

Sometimes also not the elders alone, but the whole body of the church is interested in the work of discipline, as oft as public satisfaction is given by those that have given public scandal; not to speak now of her right in elections. But another reason there is in it, which though religion did not commend to us, yet moral and civil prudence could not but extol. It was thought of old in philosophy, that shame, or to call it better, the reverence of our elders, our brethren and friends, was the greatest incitement to virtuous deeds, and the greatest dissuasion from unworthy attempts that might be. Hence we may read in the Iliad, where Hector being wished to retire from the battle, many of his forces being routed, makes answer, that he durst not for shame, lest the Trojan knights and dames should think he did ignobly. And certain it is, that whereas terror is thought such a great stickler in a commonwealth, honorable shame is a far greater, and has more reason; for where shame is, there is fear; but where fear is, there is not presently shame. And if any thing may be done, to inbreed in us this generous and christianly reverence one of another, the very nurse and guardian of piety and virtue, it cannot sooner be than by such a discipline in the church, as may use us to have in awe the assemblies of the faithful, and to count it a thing most grievous, next to the grieving of God's spirit, to offend those whom he hath put in authority, as a healing superintendence over our lives and behaviours, both to our own happiness, and that we may not give offence to good men, who without amends by us made, dare not, against God's command, hold communion with us in holy things. And this will be accompanied with a religious dread of being outcast from the company of saints, and from the fatherly protection of God in his church, to consort with the devil and his angels.

But there is yet a more ingenuous and noble degree of honest shame, or call it, if you will, an esteem, whereby men bear an inward reverence toward their own persons. And if the love of God, as a fire sent from heaven to be ever kept alive upon the altars of our hearts, be the first principle of all godly and virtuous actions in men, this pious and just honoring of ourselves is the second, and may be thought as the radical moisture and fountainhead, whence every laudable and worthy enterprise issues forth. And although I have given it the name of a liquid thing, yet is it not incontinent to bound itself, as humid things are, but hath in it a most restraining and powerful abstinence to start back, and globe itself upward from the mixture of any ungenerous and unbeseeming motion, or any soil wherewith it may peril to stain itself. Something I confess it is to be ashamed of evil doing in the presence of any; and to reverence the opinion and the countenance of a good man rather than a bad, fearing most in his sight to offend, goes so far as almost to be virtuous; yet this is but still the fear of infamy, and many such, when they find themselves alone, saving their reputation, will compound with other scruples, and come to a close treaty with their dearer vices in secret. But he that holds himself in reverence and due esteem, both for the dignity of God's image upon him, and for the price of his redemption, which he thinks is visibly marked upon his forehead, accounts himself both a fit person to do the noblest and godliest deeds, and much better worth than to deject and defile, with such a debasement, and such a pollution as sin is, himself so highly ransomed and enobled to a new friendship and filial relation with God. Nor can he fear so much the offence and reproach of others, as he dreads and would blush at the reflection of his own severe and modest eye

upon himself, if it should see him doing or imagining that which is sinful, though in the deepest secrecy.

How shall a man know to do himself this right, how to perform this honorable duty of estimation and respect towards his own soul and body? Which way will lead him best to this hilltop of sanctity and goodness, above which there is no higher ascent but to the love of God, which from this selfpious regard cannot be asunder? No better way doubtless, than to let him duly understand, that as he is called by the high calling of God, to be holy and pure, so is he by the same appointment ordained, and by the church's call admitted to such offices of discipline in the church, to which his own spiritual gifts, by the example of apostolic institution, have authorized him. For we have learned that the scornful term of laic, the consecrating of temples, carpets, and tablecloths, the railing in of a repugnant and contradictive mount Sinai in the gospel, as if the touch of a lay christian, who is nevertheless God's living temple, could profane dead Judaisms, the exclusion of Christ's people from the offices of holy discipline through the pride of a usurping clergy, causes the rest to have an unworthy and abject opinion of themselves, to approach to holy duties with a slavish fear, and to unholy doings with a familiar boldness. For seeing such a wide and terrible distance between religious things and themselves, and that in respect of a wooden table, and the perimeter of holy ground about it, a flagon pot, and a linen corporal, the priest esteems their layships unhallowed and unclean, they fear religion with such a fear as loves not, and think the purity of the gospel too pure for them, and that any uncleanness is more suitable to their unconsecrated estate.

But when every good christian, thoroughly acquainted with all those glorious privileges of sanctification

and adoption, which render him more sacred than any dedicated altar or element, shall be restored to his right in the church, and not excluded from such place of spiritual government, as his christian abilities, and his approved good life in the eye and testimony of the church shall prefer him to, this and nothing sooner will open his eyes to a wise and true valuation of himself, which is so requisite and high a point of christianity, and will stir him up to walk worthy the honorable and grave employment wherewith God and the church hath dignified him, not fearing lest he should meet with some outward holy thing in religion, which his lay touch or presence might profane, but lest something unholy from within his own heart, should dishonor and profane in himself that priestly unction and clergyright whereto Christ hath entitled him. Then would the congregation of the Lord soon recover the true likeness and visage of what she is indeed, a holy generation, a royal priesthood, a saintly communion, the household and city of God. And this I hold to be another considerable reason why the functions of church government ought to be free and open to any christian man, though never so laic, if his capacity, his faith and prudent demeanour, commend him. And this the apostles warrant us to do.

But the prelates object, that this will bring profaneness into the church; to whom may be replied, that none have brought that in more than their own irreligious courses, nor more driven holiness out of living into lifeless things. For whereas God, who hath cleansed every beast and creeping worm, would not suffer St Peter to call them common or unclean, the prelate bishops, in their printed orders hung up in churches, have proclaimed the best of creatures, mankind, so unpurified and contagious, that for him to lay his hat or his garment upon the chancel table, they

have defined it no less heinous, in express words, than to profane the table of the Lord. And thus have they by their Canaanitish doctrine, for that which was to the Jew but Jewish, is to the Christian no better than Canaanitish, thus have they made common and unclean, thus have they made profane that nature which God hath not only cleansed, but Christ also hath assumed.

And now that the equity and just reason is so perspicuous, why in ecclesiastic censure the assistance should be added of such as whom not the vile odor of gain and fees, forbid it, God, and blow it with a whirlwind out of our land! but charity, neighbourhood, and duty to church government hath called together, where could a wise man wish a more equal, gratuitous, and meek examination of any offence that he might happen to commit against Christianity than here? Would he prefer those proud simoniacal courts?

Thus therefore the minister assisted attends his heavenly and spiritual cure; where we shall see him both in the course of his proceeding, and first in the excellency of his end, from the magistrate far different, and not more different than excelling. His end is to recover all that is of man, both soul and body, to an everlasting health; and yet as for worldly happiness, which is the proper sphere wherein the magistrate cannot but confine his motion without a hideous exorbitancy from law, so little aims the minister, as his intended scope, to procure the much prosperity of this life, that ofttimes he may have cause to wish much of it away, as a diet puffing up the soul with a slimy fleshiness, and weakening her principal organic parts.

Two heads of evil he has to cope with, ignorance and malice. Against the former he provides the daily manna of incorruptible doctrine, not at those set meals only in public, but as oft as he shall know that

each infirmity or constitution requires. Against the latter with all the branches thereof, not meddling with that restraining and styptic surgery which the law uses, not indeed against the malady, but against the eruptions, and outermost effects thereof; he on the contrary, beginning at the prime causes and roots of the disease, sends in those two divine ingredients of most cleansing power to the soul, admonition and reproof; besides which two there is no drug or antidote that can reach to purge the mind, and without which all other experiments are but vain, unless by accident. And he that will not let these pass into him, though he be the greatest king, as Plato affirms, must be thought to remain impure within, and unknowing of those things wherein his pureness and his knowledge should most appear. As soon therefore as it may be discerned that the christian patient, by feeding otherwhere on meats not allowable, but of evil juice, hath disorded his diet, and spread an ill humor through his veins, immediately disposing to a sickness, the minister, as being much nearer both in eye and duty than the magistrate, speeds him betimes to overtake that diffused malignance with some gentle potion of admonishment, or if aught be obstructed, puts in his opening and discussive confections. This not succeeding after once or twice, or oftener, in the presence of two or three his faithful brethren appointed thereto, he advises him to be more careful of his dearest health, and what it is that he so rashly hath let down into the divine vessel of his soul, God's temple. If this obtain not, he then, with the counsel of more assistants, who are informed of what diligence hath been already used, with more speedy remedies lays nearer siege to the entrenched causes of his distemper, not sparing such fervent and well aimed reproofs as may best give him to see the dangerous estate

wherein he is. To this also his brethren and friends intreat, exhort, adjure; and all these endeavours, as there is hope left, are more or less repeated.

But if neither the regard of himself, nor the reverence of his elders and friends prevail with him to leave his vicious appetite, then as the time urges, such engines of terror God hath given into the hand of his minister, as to search the tenderest angles of the heart. One while he shakes his stubbornness with racking convulsions nigh despair; otherwhiles with deadly corrosives he gripes the very roots of his faulty liver to bring him to life through the entry of death. Hereto the whole church beseech him, beg of him, deplore him, pray for him. After all this performed with what patience and attendance is possible, and no relenting on his part, having done the utmost of their cure, in the name of God and of the church they dissolve their fellowship with him, and holding forth the dreadful sponge of excommunion, pronounce him wiped out of the list of God's inheritance, and in the custody of Satan till he repent; which horrid sentence, though it touch neither life nor limb, nor any worldly possession, yet has it such a penetrating force, that swifter than any chymical sulphur, or that lightning which harms not the skin, and rifles the entrails, it scorches the inmost soul. Yet even this terrible denouncement is left to the church for no other cause, but to be as a rough and vehement cleansing medicine, where the malady is obdurate, a mortifying to life, a kind of saving by undoing. And it may be truly said, that as the mercies of wicked men are cruelties, so the cruelties of the church are mercies. For if repentance sent from heaven meet this lost wanderer, and draw him out of that steep journey wherein he was hasting towards destruction, to come and reconcile to the church, if he bring with him his bill

of health, and that he is now clear of infection, and of no danger to the other sheep; then with incredible expressions of joy all his brethren receive him, and set before him those perfumed banquets of christian consolation, with precious ointments bathing and fomenting the old, and now to be forgotten stripes which terror and shame had inflicted; and thus with heavenly solaces they cheer up his humble remorse, till he regain his first health and felicity.

This is the approved way which the gospel prescribes, these are the 'spiritual weapons of holy censure, and ministerial warfare, not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.' What could be done more for the healing and reclaiming that divine particle of God's breathing, the soul, and what could be done less? He that would hide his faults from such a wholesome curing as this, and count it a twofold punishment, as some do, is like a man, that having foul diseases about him, perishes for shame, and the fear he has of a rigorous incision to come upon his flesh. We shall be able by this time to discern whether prelatical jurisdiction be contrary to the gospel or no.

First, therefore, the government of the gospel being economical and paternal, that is, of such a family where there be no servants, but all sons in obedience, not in servility, as cannot be denied by him that lives but within the sound of scripture; how can the prelates justify to have turned the fatherly orders of Christ's household, the blessed meekness of his lowly roof, those ever open and inviting doors of his dwellinghouse, which delight to be frequented with only filial accesses; how can they justify to have turned

these domestic privileges into the bar of a proud judicial court, where fees and clamors keep shop and drive a trade, where bribery and corruption solicits, paltering the free and moneyless power of discipline with a carnal satisfaction by the purse? Contrition, humiliation, confession, the very sighs of a repentant spirit are there sold by the penny. That undeflowered and unblemishable simplicity of the gospel, not she herself, for that could never be, but a falsewhited, a lawny resemblance of her, like that airborn Helena in the fables, made by the sorcery of prelates, instead of calling her disciples from the receipt of custom, is now turned publican herself, and gives up her body to a mercenary whoredom under those fornicated arches which she calls God's house, and in the sight of those her altars which she hath set up to be adored, makes merchandise of the bodies and souls of men; rejecting purgatory for no other reason, as it seems, than because her greediness cannot defer, but had rather use the utmost extortion of redeemed penances in this life.

But because these matters could not be thus carried without a begged and borrowed force from worldly authority, therefore prelaty, slighting the deliberate and chosen counsel of Christ in his spiritual government, whose glory is in the weakness of fleshly things, to tread upon the crest of the world's pride and violence by the power of spiritual ordinances, hath on the contrary made these her friends and champions which are Christ's enemies in this his high design, smothering and extinguishing the spiritual force of his bodily weakness in the discipline of his church, with the boisterous and carnal tyranny of an undue, unlawful, and ungospellike jurisdiction. And thus prelaty, both in her fleshly supportments, in her carnal doctrine of ceremony and tradition, in her violent and

secular power, going quite counter to the prime end of Christ's coming in the flesh, that is, to reveal his truth, his glory, and his might in a clean contrary manner than prelaty seeks to do, thwarting and defeating the great mystery of God, I do not conclude that prelaty is antichristian, for what need I? the things themselves conclude it. Yet if such like practices, and not many worse than these of our prelates, in that great darkness of the Roman church, have not exempted both her and her present members from being judged to be antichristian in all orthodoxal esteem, I cannot think but that it is the absolute voice of truth and all her children to pronounce this prelaty, and these her dark deeds in the midst of this great light wherein we live, to be more antichristian than antichrist himself.

THE CONCLUSION.

The Mischief that Prelaty does in the State.

I ADD one thing more to those great ones that are so fond of prelaty. This is certain, that the gospel being the hidden might of Christ, as hath been heard, hath ever a victorious power joined with it, like him in the Revelation that went forth on the white horse with his bow and his crown conquering and to conquer. If we let the angel of the gospel ride on his own way, he does his proper business, conquering the high thoughts, and the proud reasonings of the flesh, and brings them under to give obedience to Christ with the salvation of many souls. But if ye turn him out of his road, and in a manner force him to express his irresistible power by a doctrine of carnal might, as prelaty is, he will use that fleshly strength which ye

put into his hands to subdue your spirits by a servile and blind superstition; and that again shall hold such dominion over your captive minds, as returning with an insatiate greediness and force upon your worldly wealth and power, wherewith to deck and magnify herself, and her false worships, he shall spoil and havock your estates, disturb your ease, diminish your honor, inthrall your liberty under the swelling mood of a proud clergy, who will not serve or feed your souls with spiritual food; look not for it, they have not wherewithal, or if they had, it is not in their purpose. But when they have glutted their ungrateful bodies, at least if it be possible that those open sepulchres should ever be glutted, and when they have stuffed their idolish temples with the wasteful pillage of your estates, will they yet have any compassion upon you, and that poor pittance which they have left you? will they be but so good to you as that ravisher was to his sister, when he had used her at his pleasure? will they but only hate ye, and so turn ye loose? No, they will not, lords and commons, they will not favor ye so much. What will they do then, in the name of God and saints, what will these manhaters yet with more despite and mischief do? I will tell ye, or at least remember ye, for most of ye know it already.

That they may want nothing to make them true merchants of Babylon, as they have done to your souls, they will sell your bodies, your wives, your children, your liberties, your parliaments, all these things; and if there be aught else dearer than these, they will sell at an outcry in their pulpits to the arbitrary and illegal dispose of any one that may hereafter be called a king, whose mind shall serve him to listen to their bargain. And by their corrupt and servile doctrines boring our ears to an everlasting slavery, as they have done hitherto, so will they yet do their

best to repeal and erase every line and clause of both our great charters.

Nor is this only what they will do, but what they hold as the main reason and mystery of their advancement that they must do; be the prince never so just and equal to his subjects, yet such are their malicious and depraved eyes, that they so look on him, and so understand him, as if he required no other gratitude, or piece of service from them than this. And indeed they stand so opportunely for the disturbing or the destroying of a state, being a knot of creatures, whose dignities, means, and preferments have no foundation in the gospel, as they themselves acknowledge, but only in the prince's favor, and to continue so long to them, as by pleasing him they shall deserve, whence it must needs be they should bend all their intentions and services to no other ends but to his, that if it should happen that a tyrant, God turn such a scourge from us to our enemies! should come to grasp the sceptre, here were his spearmen and his lances, here were his firelocks ready, he should need no other Prætorian band nor pensionary than these, if they could once with their perfidious preachments awe the people. For although the prelates in time of popery were sometimes friendly enough to magna charta, it was because they stood upon their own bottom, without their main dependance on the royal nod; but now being well acquainted that the protestant religion, if she will reform herself rightly by the Scriptures, must undress them of all their gilded vanities, and reduce them as they were at first, to the lowly and equal order of presbyters, they know it concerns them nearly to study the times more than the text, and to lift up their eyes to the hills of the court, from whence only comes their help; but if their pride grow weary of this crouching and observance, as ere long it would, and

that yet their minds climb still to a higher ascent of worldly honor, this only refuge can remain to them, that they must of necessity contrive to bring themselves and us back again to the pope's supremacy; and this we see they had by fair degrees of late been doing. These be the two fair supporters between which the strength of prelaty is borne up, either of inducing tyranny, or of reducing popery.

Hence also we may judge that prelaty is mere falsehood. For the property of truth is, where she is publicly taught, to unyoke and set free the minds and spirits of a nation, first from the thraldom of sin and superstition, after which all honest and legal freedom of civil life cannot be long absent; but prelaty, whom the tyrant custom begot a natural tyrant in religion, and in state the agent and minister of tyranny, seems to have had this fatal gift in her nativity, like another Midas, that whatsoever she should touch or come near either in ecclesial or political government, it should turn, not to gold, though she for her part could wish it, but to the dross and scum of slavery, breeding and settling both in the bodies and the souls of all such as do not in time, with the sovereign treacle of sound doctrine, provide to fortify their hearts against her hierarchy. The service of God, who is truth, her liturgy confesses to be perfect freedom; but her works and her opinions declare that the service of prelaty is perfect slavery, and by consequence perfect falsehood; which makes me wonder much that many of the gentry, studious men, as I hear, should engage themselves to write, and speak publicly in her defence; but that I believe their honest and ingenuous natures, coming to the universities to store themselves with good and solid learning, and there unfortunately fed with nothing else but the scragged and thorny lectures of monkish and miserable sophistry, were sent home

again with such a scholastical bur in their throats, as hath stopped and hindered all true and generous philosophy from entering, cracked their voices for ever with metaphysical gargarisms, and hath made them admire a sort of formal outside men prelatically addicted, whose unchastened and unwrought minds were never yet initiated or subdued under the true lore of religion or moral virtue, which two are the best and greatest points of learning, but either slightly trained up in a kind of hypocritical and hackney course of literature to get their living by, and dazzle the ignorant, or else fondly overstudied in useless controversies, except those which they use with all the specious and delusive subtlety they are able, to defend their prelatical Sparta, having a gospel and church government set before their eyes, as a fair field wherein they might exercise the greatest virtues and the greatest deeds of christian authority, in mean fortunes and little furniture of this world; which even the sage heathen writers, and those old Fabricii and Curii well knew to be a manner of working, than which nothing could liken a mortal man more to God, who delights most to work from within himself, and not by the heavy luggage of corporeal instruments; they understand it not, and think no such matter, but admire and dote upon worldly riches and honors, with an easy and intemperate life, to the bane of christianity; yea, they and their seminaries shame not to profess, to petition, and never leave pealing our ears, that unless we fat them like boars, and cram them as they list with wealth, with deaneries and pluralities, with baronies and stately preferments, all learning and religion will go under foot; which is such a shameless, such a bestial plea, and of that odious impudence in churchmen, who should be to us a pattern of temperance and frugal mediocrity, who should teach us to contemn this world, and the

gaudy things thereof, according to the promise which they themselves require from us in baptism, that should the scripture stand by and be mute, there is not that sect of philosophers among the heathen so dissolute, no not Epicurus, nor Aristippus with all his Cyrenaic rout, but would shut his schooldoors against such greasy sophisters; not any college of mountebanks, but would think scorn to discover in themselves, with such a brazen forehead, the outrageous desire of filthy lucre, which the prelates make so little conscience of, that they are ready to fight, and if it lay in their power, to massacre all good christians under the names of horrible schismatics, for only finding fault with their temporal dignities, their unconscionable wealth and revenues, their cruel authority over their brethren that labor in the word, while they snore in their luxurious excess, openly proclaiming themselves now in the sight of all men, to be those which for a while they sought to cover under sheep's clothing, ravenous and savage wolves, threatening inroads and bloody incursions upon the flock of Christ, which they took upon them to feed, but now claim to devour as their prey; more like that huge dragon of Egypt, breathing out waste and desolation to the land, unless he were daily fattened with virgin's blood. Him our old patron St George by his matchless valor slew, as the prelate of the garter that reads his collect can tell. And if our princes and knights will imitate the fame of that old champion, as by their order of knighthood solemnly taken, they vow, far be it that they should uphold and side with this English dragon; but rather to do as indeed their oath binds them, they should make it their knightly adventure to pursue and vanquish this mighty sailwinged monster that menaces to swallow up the land, unless her bottomless gorge may be satisfied with the blood of the king's daughter, the

church, and may, as she was wont, fill her dark and infamous den with the bones of the saints.

Nor will any one have reason to think this as too incredible or too tragical to be spoken of prelaty, if he consider well from what a mass of slime and mud, the slothful, the covetous, and ambitious hopes of church promotions and fat bishoprics, she is bred up and nuzzled in, like a great Python from her youth, to prove the general poison both of doctrine and good discipline in the land. For certainly such hopes and such principles of earth as these wherein she welters from a young one, are the immediate generation, both of a slavish and tyrannous life to follow, and a pestiferous contagion to the whole kingdom, till, like that fenborn serpent, she be shot to death with the darts of the sun, the pure and powerful beams of God's word. And this may serve to describe to us in part, what prelaty hath been, and what, if she stand, she is like to be towards the whole body of people in England. Now that it may appear how she is not such a kind of evil, as hath any good or use in it, which many evils have, but a distilled quintessence, a pure elixir of mischief, pestilent alike to all, I shall show briefly, ere I conclude, that the prelates, as they are to the subjects a calamity, so are they the greatest underminers and betrayers of the monarch, to whom they seem to be most favorable.

I cannot better liken the state and person of a king than to that mighty Nazarite, Sampson, who being disciplined from his birth in the precepts and the practice of temperance and sobriety, without the strong drink of injurious and excessive desires, grows up to a noble strength and perfection with those his illustrious and sunny locks, the laws, waving and curling about his godlike shoulders. And while he keeps them about him undiminished and unshorn, he may

with the jawbone of an ass, that is, with the word of his meanest officer, suppress and put to confusion thousands of those that rise against his just power. But laying down his head among the strumpet flatteries of prelates, while he sleeps and thinks no harm, they wickedly shaving off all those bright and weighty tresses of his laws, and just prerogatives, which were his ornament and strength, deliver him over to indirect and violent counsels, which, as those Philistines, put out the fair and farsighted eyes of his natural discerning, and make him grind in the prisonhouse of their sinister ends and practices upon him; till he, knowing this prelatical razor to have bereft him of his wonted might, nourish again his puissant hair, the golden beams of law and right, and they sternly shook, thunder with ruin upon the heads of those his evil counsellors, but not without great affliction to himself. This is the sum of their loyal service to kings; yet these are the men that still cry, The king, the king, the Lord's anointed. We grant it, and wonder how they came to light upon any thing so true; and wonder more, if kings be the Lord's anointed, how they dare thus oil over and besmear so holy an unction, with the corrupt and putrid ointment of their base flatteries, which while they smooth the skin, strike inward and envenom the lifeblood.

What fidelity kings can expect from prelates, both examples past, and our present experience of their doings at this day, whereon is grounded all that hath been said, may suffice to inform us. And if they be such clippers of regal power, and shavers of the laws, how they stand affected to the lawgiving parliament, yourselves, worthy peers and commons, can best testify, the current of whose glorious and immortal actions hath been only opposed by the obscure and pernicious designs of the prelates, until their insolence

broke out to such a bold affront, as hath justly immured their haughty looks within strong walls. Nor have they done any thing of late with more diligence, than to hinder or break the happy assembling of parliaments, however needful to repair the shattered and disjointed frame of the commonwealth; or if they cannot do this, to cross, to disenable, and traduce all parliamentary proceedings. And this, if nothing else, plainly accuses them to be no lawful members of the house, if they thus perpetually mutiny against their own body. And though they pretend, like Solomon's harlot, that they have right thereto, by the same judgment that Solomon gave, it cannot belong to them, whenas it is not only their assent, but their endeavour continually to divide parliaments in twain, and not only by dividing, but by all other means to abolish and destroy the free use of them to all posterity; for the which, and for all their former misdeeds, whereof this book and many volumes more cannot contain the moiety, I shall move ye, lords, in the behalf I dare say of many thousand good Christians, to let your justice and speedy sentence pass against this great malefactor, prelaty. And yet in the midst of rigor I would beseech ye to think of mercy; and such a mercy, I fear I shall overshoot with a desire to save this falling prelaty, such a mercy, if I may venture to say it, as may exceed that which for only ten righteous persons would have saved Sodom. Not that I dare advise ye to contend with God, whether he or you shall be more merciful, but in your wise esteems to balance the offences of those peccant cities with these enormous riots of ungodly misrule that prelaty hath wrought both in the church of Christ, and in the state of this kingdom. And if ye think ye may with a pious presumption strive to go beyond God in mercy, I shall not be one now that would dissuade ye. Though

God for less than ten just persons would not spare Sodom, yet if you can find after due search, but only one good thing in prelaty, either to religion or civil government, to king or parliament, to prince or people, to law, liberty, wealth, or learning, spare her, let her live, let her spread among ye, till with her shadow all your dignities and honors, and all the glory of the land be darkened and obscured. But on the contrary, if she be found to be malignant, hostile, destructive to all these, as nothing can be surer, then let your severe and impartial doom imitate the divine vengeance; rain down your punishing force upon this godless and oppressing government, and bring such a dead sea of subversion upon her, that she may never in this land rise more to afflict the holy reformed church, and the elect people of God.

ANIMADVERSIONS

UPON

THE REMONSTRANT'S DEFENCE

AGAINST

SMECTYMNUUS.

THE PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH it be a certain truth, that they who undertake a religious cause need not care to be menpleasers, yet because the satisfaction of tender and mild consciences is far different from that which is called menpleasing, to satisfy such, I shall address myself in few words to give notice beforehand of something in this book, which to some men perhaps may seem offensive, that when I have rendered a lawful reason of what is done, I may trust to have saved the labor of defending or excusing hereafter.

We all know that in private or personal injuries, yea, in public sufferings for the cause of Christ, his rule and example teaches us to be so far from a readiness to speak evil, as not to answer the reviler in his language, though never so much provoked; yet in the detecting, and convincing of any notorious enemy to truth and his country's peace, especially that is conceited to have a voluble and smart fluence of tongue, and in the vain confidence of that, and out of a more tenacious cling to worldly respects, stands up for all the rest to justify a long usurpation and convicted pseudepiscopy of prelates, with all their ceremonies, liturgies, and tyrannies, which God and man are now ready to explode and hiss out of the land, I

suppose, and more than suppose, it will be nothing disagreeing from christian meekness, to handle such a one in a rougher accent, and to send home his haughtiness well bespurted with his own holy water. Nor to do thus are we unautoritied either from the moral precept of Solomon, to answer him thereafter that prides him in his folly, nor from the example of Christ, and all his followers in all ages, who, in the refuting of those that resisted sound doctrine, and by subtile dissimulations corrupted the minds of men, have wrought up their zealous souls into such vehemences, as nothing could be more killingly spoken; for who can be a greater enemy to mankind, who a more dangerous deceiver, than he who defending a traditional corruption uses no common arts, but with a wily stratagem of yielding to the time a greater part of his cause, seeming to forego all that man's invention hath done therein, and driven from much of his hold in scripture, yet leaving it hanging by a twined thread, not from divine command, but from apostolical prudence or assent, as if he had the surety of some rolling trench, creeps up by this means to his relinquished fortress of divine authority again, and still hovering between the confines of that which he dares not be openly, and that which he will not be sincerely, trains on the easy Christian insensibly within the close ambushment of worst errors, and with a sly shuffle of counterfeit principles, chopping and changing till he have gleaned all the good ones out of their minds, leaves them at last, after a slight resemblance of sweeping and garnishing, under the sevenfold possession of a desperate stupidity? And therefore they that love the souls of men, which is the dearest love, and stirs up the noblest jealousy, when they meet with such collusion, cannot be blamed though they be transported with the zeal of truth to a well heated

fervency, especially, seeing they which thus offend against the souls of their brethren, do it with delight to their great gain, ease, and advancement in this world, but they that seek to discover and oppose their false trade of deceiving, do it not without a sad and unwilling anger, not without many hazards, but without all private and personal spleen, and without any thought of earthly reward, whenas this very course they take stops their hopes of ascending above a lowly and unenviable pitch in this life. And although in the serious uncasing of a grand imposture, for to deal plainly with you readers, prelaty is no better, there be mixed here and there such a grim laughter, as may appear at the same time in an austere visage, it cannot be taxed of levity or insolence; for even this vein of laughing, as I could produce out of grave authors, hath ofttimes a strong and sinewy force in teaching and confuting; nor can there be a more proper object of indignation and scorn together, than a false prophet, taken in the greatest, dearest, and most dangerous cheat, the cheat of souls, in the disclosing whereof, if it be harmful to be angry, and withal to cast a lowering smile, when the properest object calls for both, it will be long enough ere any be able to say, why those two most rational faculties of human intellect, anger and laughter, were first seated in the breast of man. Thus much, readers, in favor of the softer spirited Christian; for other exceptioners there was no thought taken. Only if it be asked, why this close and succinct manner of coping with the adversary was rather chosen, this was the reason chiefly; that the ingenuous reader, without further amusing himself in the labyrinth of controversal antiquity, may come to the speediest way to see the truth vindicated, and sophistry taken short at the first false bound. Next, that the Remonstrant himself, as oft as he pleases to be

frolic, and brave it with others, may find no gain of money, and may learn not to insult in so bad a cause. But now he begins.

SECTION I.

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Remonstrant. My cause, ye gods, would bid me meet them undismayed, and to say with holy David, 'though an host, &c.'

Answer. Do not think to persuade us of your undaunted courage, by misapplying to yourself the words of holy David; we know you fear, and are in an agony at this present, lest you should lose that superfluity of riches and honor which your party usurp. And whosoever covets, and so earnestly labors to keep such an incumbering surcharge of earthly things, cannot but have an earthquake still in his bones. You are not armed, Remonstrant, nor any of your band; you are not dieted, nor your loins girt for spiritual valor, and christian warfare; the luggage is too great that follows your camp; your hearts are there, you march heavily; how shall we think you have not carnal fear, while we see you so subject to carnal desires?

* * * *

Remonst. That which you miscall the preface, was a too just complaint of the shameful number of libels.

Answ. How long is it that you and the prelatical troop have been in such distaste with libels? Ask your Lysimachus Nicanor what defaming invectives have lately flown abroad against the subjects of Scotland, and our poor expulsed brethren of New England, the prelates rather applauding than showing any dislike; and this hath been ever so, insomuch that Sir Francis Bacon in one of his discourses complains of the bishops'

uneven hand over these pamphlets, confining those against bishops to darkness, but licensing those against Puritans to be uttered openly, though with the greater mischief of leading into contempt the exercise of religion in the persons of sundry preachers, and disgracing the higher matter in the meaner person.

Remonst. A point no less essential to that proposed remonstrance.

Answ. We know where the shoe wrings you; you fret, and are galled at the quick; and O what a death it is to the prelates to be thus unvisarded, thus uncased, to have the periwigs plucked off that cover your baldness, your inside nakedness thrown open to public view! The Romans had a time once every year, when their slaves might freely speak their minds; it were hard if the freeborn people of England, with whom the voice of truth for these many years, even against the proverb, hath not been heard but in corners, after all your monkish prohibitions, and expurgatorious indexes, your gags and snaffles, your proud imprimaturs not to be obtained without the shallow surview, but not shallow hand of some mercenary, narrowsouled, and illiterate chaplain, when liberty of speaking, than which nothing is more sweet to man, was girded, and strait laced almost to a broken winded phthisic, if now at a good time, our time of parliament, the very jubilee and resurrection of the state, if now the concealed, the aggrieved, and long persecuted truth, could not be suffered to speak; and though she burst out with some efficacy of words, could not be excused after such an injurious strangle of silence, nor avoid the censure of libelling, it were hard, it were something pinching in a kingdom of free spirits. Some princes, and great statists, have thought it a prime piece of necessary policy to thrust themselves under disguise into a popular throng, to stand the night

long under eaves of houses, and low windows, that they might hear every where the utterances of private breasts, and amongst them find out the precious gem of truth, as amongst the numberless pebbles of the shore, whereby they might be the abler to discover, and avoid that deceitful and close couched evil of flattery that ever attends them, and misleads them, and might skilfully know how to apply the several redresses to each malady of state, without trusting the disloyal information of parasites and sycophants; whereas now this permission of free writing, were there no good else in it, yet at some times thus licensed, is such an unripping, such an anatomy of the shyest and tenderest particular truths, as makes not only the whole nation in many points the wiser, but also presents and carries home to princes, and men most remote from vulgar concourse, such a full insight of every lurking evil, or restrained good among the commons, as that they shall not need hereafter in old cloaks, and false beards, to stand to the courtesy of a nightwalking cudgeller for eavesdropping, nor to accept quietly as a perfume, the overhead emptying of some salt lotion. Who could be angry therefore, but those that are guilty, with these freespoken and plainhearted men, that are the eyes of their country, and the prospective glasses of their prince? But these are the nettlers, these are the blabbing books that tell, though not half, your fellows' feats. You love toothless satires; let me inform you, a toothless satire is as improper as a toothed sleekstone, and as bullish.

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Remonst. Those verbal exceptions are but light froth, and will sink alone.

Answ. O rare subtlety, beyond all that Cardan ever dreamed of! When, I beseech you, will light things sink? When will light froth sink alone? Here

in your phrase, the same day that heavy plummets will swim alone. Trust this man, readers, if you please, whose divinity would reconcile England with Rome, and his philosophy make friends nature with the chaos, sine pondere habentia pondus.

* * * *

Remonst. Had you spoken such a word in the time of holy Cyprian, what had become of you?

Answ. They had neither been hauled into your Gehenna at Lambeth, nor strapadoed with an oath ex officio by your bowmen of the arches. And as for Cyprian's time, the cause was far unlike. He indeed succeeded into an episcopacy that began then to prelatize; but his personal excellence, like an antidote, overcame the malignity of that breeding corruption which was then a disease that lay hid for a while under show of a full and healthy constitution, as those hydropic humors not discernible at first from a fair and juicy fleshiness of body, or that unwonted ruddy color which seems graceful to a cheek otherwise pale, and yet arises from evil causes, either of some inward obstruction or inflammation, and might deceive the first physicians, till they had learnt the sequel, which Cyprian's days did not bring forth; and the prelatism of episcopacy, which began then to burgeon and spread, had as yet, especially in famous men, a fair, though a false imitation of flourishing.

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SECTION II.

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Remonstrant. And why should not I speak of martyrs, as the authors and users of this holy liturgy?

Answer. As the authors! the translators, you might perhaps have said; for Edward the Sixth, as

Hayward hath written in his story, will tell you upon the word of a king, that the order of the service, and the use thereof in the English tongue, is no other than the old service was, and the same words in English which were in Latin, except a few things omitted, so fond, that it had been a shame to have heard them in English. These are his words, whereby we are left uncertain who the author was, but certain that part of the work was esteemed so absurd by the translators thereof, as was to be ashamed of in English. O but the martyrs were the refiners of it! for that only is left you to say. Admit they were, they could not refine a scorpion into a fish, though they had drawn it, and rinsed it with never so cleanly cookery, which made them fall at variance among themselves about the use either of it, or the ceremonies belonging to it.

Remonst. Slight you them as you please, we bless God for such patrons of our good cause.

Answ. O Benedicite! Qui color ater erat, nunc est contrarius atro! Are not these they which one of your bishops in print scornfully terms the Foxian confessors? Are not these they whose acts and monuments are not only so contemptible, but so hateful to the prelates, that their story was almost come to be a prohibited book, which for these two or three editions hath crept into the world by stealth, and at times of advantage, not without the open regret and vexation of the bishops, as many honest men that had to do in setting forth the book will justify? And now at a dead lift for your liturgies, you bless God for them. Out upon such hypocrisy!

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Remonst. As for that sharp censure of learned Mr Calvin, it might well have been forborne by him in alienâ republicâ.

Answ. Thus this untheological remonstrant would

divide the individual catholic church into several republics. Know therefore that every worthy pastor of the church of Christ, hath universal right to admonish over all the world within the church; nor can that care be aliened from him by any distance or distinction of nation, so long as in Christ all nations and languages are as one household.

* * * *

Remonst. If the forms were merely arbitrary, to what use was the prescription of an order?

Answ. Nothing will cure this man's understanding but some familiar and kitchen physic, which, with pardon, must for plainness' sake be administered to him. Call hither your cook. The order of breakfast, dinner, and supper, answer me, is it set or no? Set. Is a man therefore bound in the morning to poached eggs and vinegar, or at noon to brawn or beef, or at night to fresh salmon and French kickshaw? May he not make his meals in order, though he be not bound to this or that viand? Doubtless the neat fingered artist will answer, Yes, and help us out of this great controversy without more trouble. Can we not understand an order in church assemblies of praying, reading, expounding, and administering, unless our prayers be still the same crambo of words?

Remonst. What a poor exception is this, that liturgies were composed by some particular men?

Answ. It is a greater presumption in any particular men to arrogate to themselves that which God universally gives to all his ministers. A minister that cannot be trusted to pray in his own words without being chewed to, and fescued to a formal injunction of his rote lesson, should as little be trusted to preach; besides the vain babble of praying over the same things immediately again; for there is a large difference in the repetition of some pathetical ejaculation

raised out of the sudden earnestness and vigor of the inflamed soul, such as was that of Christ in the garden, from the continual rehearsal of our daily orisons; which if a man shall kneel down in a morning, and say over, and presently in another part of the room kneel down again, and in other words ask but still for the same things as it were out of one inventory, I cannot see how he will escape that heathenish battology of multiplying words, which Christ himself that has the putting up of our prayers, told us would not be acceptable in heaven. Well may men of eminent gifts set forth as many forms and helps to prayer as they please; but to impose them on ministers lawfully called, and sufficiently tried, as all ought to be ere they be admitted, is a supercilious tyranny, impropriating the spirit of God to themselves.

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Remonst. The instructer of the people prayed according to his ability, it is true; so do ours; and yet we have a liturgy, and so had they.

Answ. A quick come off. The ancients used pikes and targets, and therefore guns and great ordnance, because we use both.

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Remonst. The words of the council are full and affirmative.

Answ. Set the grave councils up upon their shelves again, and string them hard, lest their various and jangling opinions put their leaves into a flutter. I shall not intend, this hot season, to bid you the base through the wide and dusty champaign of the councils, but shall take counsel of that which counselled them, reason; and although I know there is an obsolete reprehension now at your tongue's end, yet I shall be bold to say, that reason is the gift of God in one man

as well as in a thousand. By that which we have tasted already of their cisterns, we may find that reason was the only thing, and not any divine command, that moved them to enjoin set forms of liturgy. First, lest any thing in general might be missaid in their public prayers through ignorance, or want of care, contrary to the faith; and next, lest the Arians, and Pelagians in particular, should infect the people by their hymns, and forms of prayer. By the leave of these ancient fathers, this was no solid prevention of spreading heresy, to debar the ministers of God the use of their noblest talent, prayer in the congregation, unless they had forbid the use of sermons, and lectures too, but such as were ready made to their hands, as our homilies; or else he that was heretically disposed, had as fair an opportunity of infecting in his discourse, as in his prayer or hymn. As insufficiently, and to say truth, as imprudently did they provide by their contrived liturgies, lest any thing should be erroneously prayed through ignorance, or want of care in the ministers. For if they were careless, and ignorant in their prayers, certainly they would be more careless in their preaching, and yet more careless in watching over their flock; and what prescription could reach to bound them in both these? What if reason, now illustrated by the word of God, shall be able to produce a better prevention than these councils have left us against heresy, ignorance, or want of care in the ministry; that such wisdom and diligence be used in the education of those that would be ministers, and such strict and serious examination to be undergone ere their admission, as St Paul to Timothy sets down at large, and then they need not carry such an unworthy suspicion over the preachers of God's word, as to tutor their unsoundness with the A, B, C, of a liturgy, or to diet their ignorance, and want of

care, with the limited draught of a matin and even-song drench. And this may suffice after all their laborsome scrutiny of the councils.

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Remonst. Had it been composed into this frame on purpose to bring papists to our churches.

Answ. To bring them to our churches? Alas! what was that, unless they had been first fitted by repentance, and right instruction? You will say, the word was there preached which is the means of conversion; you should have given so much honor then to the word preached, as to have left it to God's working without the interloping of a liturgy baited for them to bite at.

Remonst. The project had been charitable and gracious.

Answ. It was pharisaical and vainglorious, a greedy desire to win proselytes by conforming to them unlawfully, like the desire of Tamar, who to raise up seed to her husband, sate in the common road dressed like a courtezan, and he that came to her committed incest with her. This was that which made the old christians paganize, while by their scandalous and base conforming to heathenism they did no more, when they had done their utmost, but bring some pagans to christianize; for true Christians they neither were themselves, nor could make other such in this fashion.

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Remonst. And the words wherewith it should be clothed, might be the more prepared, and be so much the more intent, and less distracted.

Answ. As for the words, it is more to be feared lest the same continually should make them careless or sleepy, than that variety on the same known sub-

ject should distract; variety, as both music and rhetoric teacheth us, erects and rouses an auditory, like the masterful running over many cords and divisions; whereas if men should ever be thumbing the drone of one plain song, it would be a dull opiate to the most wakeful attention.

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SECTION IV.

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Remonstrant. He that said I am the way, said that the old way was the good way.

Answer. He bids ask of the old paths, or for the old ways, where or which is the good way; which implies that all old ways are not good, but that the good way is to be searched with diligence among the old ways, which is a thing that we do in the oldest records we have, the gospel. And if others may chance to spend more time with you in canvassing later antiquity, I suppose it is not for that they ground themselves thereon, but that they endeavour, by showing the corruptions, incertainties, and disagreements of those volumes, and the easiness of erring or overslipping in such a boundless and vast search, if they may not convince those that are so strongly persuaded thereof, yet to free ingenuous minds from an overawful esteem of those more ancient than trusty fathers, whom custom and fond opinion, weak principles, and the neglect of sounder and superior knowledge hath exalted so high as to have gained them a blind reverence; whose books in bigness and number so endless and immeasurable, I cannot think that either God or nature, either divine or human wisdom, did ever mean should be a rule or reliance to us in the decision of any weighty and positive doctrine. For certainly every rule and instrument of necessary know-

ledge that God hath given us, ought to be so in proportion, as may be wielded and managed by the life of man, without penning him up from the duties of human society; and such a rule and instrument of knowledge perfectly is the holy Bible. But he that shall bind himself to make antiquity his rule, if he read but part, besides the difficulty of choice, his rule is deficient, and utterly unsatisfying; for there may be other writers of another mind, which he hath not seen; and if he undertake all, the length of man's life cannot extend to give him a full and requisite knowledge of what was done in antiquity.

Why do we therefore stand worshipping and admiring this unactive and lifeless colossus, that like a carved giant terribly menacing to children and weaklings, lifts up his club, but strikes not, and is subject to the muting of every sparrow? If you let him rest upon his basis, he may perhaps delight the eyes of some with his huge and mountainous bulk, and the quaint workmanmanship of his massy limbs; but if you go about to take him in pieces, ye mar him; and if you think, like pigmies, to turn and wind him whole as he is, besides your vain toil and sweat, he may chance to fall upon your own heads. Go, therefore, and use all your art, apply your sledges, your levers, and your iron crows, to heave and hale your mighty Polypheme of antiquity to the delusion of novices and unexperienced Christians. We shall adhere close to the scriptures of God, which he hath left us as the just and adequate measure of truth, fitted and proportioned to the diligent study, memory, and use of every faithful man, whose every part consenting and making up the harmonious symmetry of complete instruction, is able to set out to us a perfect man of God, or bishop thoroughly furnished to all the good works of his charge; and with this weapon, without stepping a

foot further, we shall not doubt to batter and throw down your Nebuchadnezzar's image, and crumble it like the chaff of the summer threshing floors, as well the gold of those apostolic successors that you boast of, as your Constantinian silver, together with the iron, the brass, and the clay of those muddy and strawy ages that follow.

* * * *

Remonst. But raise and evince from the light of nature, and the rules of just policy, for the continuance of those things which long use, and many laws have firmly established as necessary and beneficial.

Answ. Open your eyes to the light of grace, a better guide than nature. Look upon the mean condition of Christ and his apostles, without that accessory strength you take such pains to raise from the light of nature and policy. Take divine counsel, 'Labor not for the things that perish.' You would be the salt of the earth; if that savor be not found in you, do not think much that the time is now come to throw you out, and tread you under foot. Hark how St Paul, writing to Timothy, informs a true bishop; 'Bishops,' saith he, 'must not be greedy of filthy lucre; and having food and raiment, let us be therewith content. But they,' saith he, meaning more especially in that place, bishops, 'that will be rich, fall into temptation, and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition; for the love of money is the root of all evil, which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith.' How can we therefore expect sound doctrine, and the solution of this our controversy from any covetous and honorhunting bishop, that shall plead so stiffly for these things, while St Paul thus exhorts every bishop; 'But thou, O man of God, flee these things?'

As for the just policy, that long use and custom,

and those many laws which you say have conferred these benefits upon you, it hath been nothing else but the superstitious devotion of princes and great men that knew no better, or the base importunity of begging friars, haunting and harassing the deathbeds of men departing this life, in a blind and wretched condition of hope to merit heaven for the building of churches, cloisters, and convents. The most of your vaunted possessions, and those proud endowments that ye as sinfully waste, what are they but the black revenues of purgatory, the price of abused and murdered souls, the damned simony of trentals, and indulgences to mortal sin? How can ye choose but inherit the curse that goes along with such a patrimony? Alas! if there be any releasement, any mitigation, or more tolerable being for the souls of our misguided ancestors, could we imagine there might be any recovery to some degree of ease left for as many of them as are lost, there cannot be a better way than to take the misbestowed wealth which they were cheated of, from these our prelates, who are the true successors of those that popped them into the other world with this conceit of meriting by their goods, which was their final undoing, and to bestow their beneficent gifts upon places and means of christian education, and the faithful laborers in God's harvest, that may incessantly warn the posterity of Dives, lest they come where their miserable forefather was sent by the cozenage and misleading of avaricious and worldly prelates.

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Remonst. They cannot name any man in this nation that ever contradicted episcopacy, till this present age.

Answ. What an overworn and bedridden argument is this, the last refuge ever of old falsehood, and there-

fore a good sign, I trust, that your castle cannot hold out long! This was the plea of Judaism, and idolatry against Christ and his apostles, of papacy against reformation; and perhaps to the frailty of flesh and blood in a man destitute of better enlightening, may for some while be pardonable. For what has fleshly apprehension other to subsist by than succession, custom, and visibility, which only hold, if, in his weakness and blindness, he be loth to lose, who can blame? But in a protestant nation, that should have thrown off these tattered rudiments long ago, after the many strivings of God's spirit, and our fourscore years' vexation of him in this our wilderness, since reformation began, to urge these rotten principles, and twit us with the present age, which is to us an age of ages wherein God is manifestly come down among us, to do some remarkable good to our church or state, is as if a man should tax the renovating and reingendering spirit of God with innovation, and that new creature for an upstart novelty; yea the new Jerusalem, which without your admired link of succession descends from heaven, could not escape some such like censure.

If you require a further answer, it will not misbecome a Christian to be either more magnanimous, or more devout than Scipio was, who, instead of other answer to the frivolous accusations of Petilius the Tribune, 'This day, Romans,' saith he 'I fought with Hannibal prosperously; let us all go and thank the gods that gave us so great a victory.' In like manner will we now say, not caring otherwise to answer this unprotestantlike objection, In this age, Britons, God hath reformed his church, after many hundred years of popish corruption; in this age he hath freed us from the intolerable yoke of prelates and papal discipline; in this age he hath renewed our protestation against all those yet remaining dregs of superstition.

Let us all go, every true protested Briton throughout the three kingdoms, and render thanks to God, the father of light, and fountain of heavenly grace, and to his son Christ our Lord, leaving this Remonstrant and his adherents to their own designs, and let us recount even here without delay, the patience and long-suffering that God hath used towards our blindness and hardness time after time. For he being equally near to his whole creation of mankind, and of free power to turn his beneficent and fatherly regard to what region or kingdom he pleases, hath yet ever had this island under the special indulgent eye of his providence, and pitying us the first of all other nations, after he had decreed to purify and renew his church that lay wallowing in idolatrous pollutions, sent first to us a healing messenger to touch softly our sores, and carry a gentle hand over our wounds. He knocked once and twice, and came again, opening our drowsy eyelids leisurely by that glimmering light which Wickliffe, and his followers dispersed; and still taking off by degrees the inveterate scales from our nigh perished sight, purged also our deaf ears, and prepared them to attend his second warning trumpet in our grandsires' days. How else could they have been able to have received the sudden assault of his reforming spirit, warring against human principles and carnal sense, the pride of flesh that still cried up antiquity, custom, canons, councils, and laws, and cried down the truth for novelty, schism, profaneness, and sacrilege? whenas we that have lived so long in abundant light, besides the sunny reflection of all the neighbouring churches, have yet our hearts riveted with those old opinions, and so obstructed and benumbed with the same fleshly reasonings, which in our forefathers soon melted and gave way, against the morning beam of reformation.

If God had left undone this whole work, so contrary to flesh and blood, till these times, how should we have yielded to his heavenly call, had we been taken, as they were, in the starkness of our ignorance, that yet after all these spiritual preparatives and purgations, have our earthly apprehensions so clammed and furred with the old leaven? O, if we freeze at noon, after their early thaw, let us fear lest the sun forever hide himself, and turn his orient steps from our ingrateful horizon, justly condemned to be eternally benighted! which dreadful judgment, O thou, the everbegotten light and perfect image of the Father! intercede, may never come upon us, as we trust thou hast; for thou hast opened our difficult and sad times, and given us an unexpected breathing after our long oppressions. Thou hast done justice upon those that tyrannized over us, while some men wavered and admired a vain shadow of wisdom in a tongue nothing slow to utter guile, though thou hast taught us to admire only that which is good, and to count that only praiseworthy, which is grounded upon thy divine precepts. Thou hast discovered the plots and frustrated the hopes of all the wicked in the land, and put to shame the persecutors of thy church. Thou hast made our false prophets to be found a lie in the sight of all the people, and chased them with sudden confusion and amazement before the redoubled brightness of thy descending cloud, that now covers thy tabernacle. Who is there that cannot trace thee now, in thy beamy walk through the midst of thy sanctuary, amidst those golden candlesticks, which have long suffered a dimness amongst us through the violence of those that had seized them and were more taken with the mention of their gold than of their starry light, teaching the doctrine of Balaam, to cast a stumblingblock before thy servants, commanding them

to eat things sacrificed to idols, and forcing them to fornication?

Come, therefore, O thou that hast the seven stars in thy right hand, appoint thy chosen priests according to their orders and courses of old, to minister before thee, and duly to press and pour out the consecrated oil into thy holy and everburning lamps. Thou has sent out the spirit of prayer upon thy servants over all the land to this effect, and stirred up their vows as the sound of many waters about thy throne. Every one can say, that now certainly thou hast visited this land, and hast not forgotten the utmost corners of the earth, in a time when men had thought that thou wast gone up from us to the farthest end of the heavens, and hadst left to do marvellously among the sons of these last ages. O perfect and accomplish thy glorious acts! for men may leave their works unfinished, but thou art a God, thy nature is perfection. Shouldst thou bring us thus far onward from Egypt to destroy us in this wilderness, though we deserve, yet thy great name would suffer in the rejoicing of thine enemies, and the deluded hope of all thy servants.

When thou hast settled peace in the church, and righteous judgment in the kingdom, then shall all thy saints address their voices of joy and triumph to thee, standing on the shore of that red sea into which our enemies had almost driven us. And he that now for haste snatches up a plain, ungarnished present as a thankoffering to thee, which could not be deferred in regard of thy so many late deliverances wrought for us one upon another, may then perhaps take up a harp, and sing thee an elaborate song to generations. In that day, it shall no more be said as in scorn, this or that was never held so till this present age, when men have better learnt that the times and seasons pass

along under thy feet, to go and come at thy bidding; and as thou didst dignify our fathers' days with many revelations above all the foregoing ages, since thou tookest the flesh, so thou canst vouchsafe to us, though unworthy, as large a portion of thy spirit as thou pleasest; for who shall prejudice thy allgoverning will? seeing the power of thy grace is not past away with the primitive times, as fond and faithless men imagine, but thy kingdom is now at hand, and thou standing at the door. Come forth out of thy royal chambers, O prince of all the kings of the earth! Put on the visible robes of thy imperial majesty. Take up that unlimited sceptre which thy almighty Father hath bequeathed thee; for now the voice of thy bride calls thee, and all creatures sigh to be renewed.

SECTION V.

Remonst. Neglect not the gift which was given thee by prophecy, and by laying on the hands of presbytery.

Answ. The English translation expresses the article, the, and renders it 'the' presbytery, which you do injury to omit.

Remonst. Which I wonder ye can so press, when Calvin himself takes it of the office, and not of the men.

Answ. You think then you are fairly quit of this proof, because Calvin interprets it for you, as if we could be put off with Calvin's name, unless we be convinced with Calvin's reason. The word πρεσβυτέριον, is a collective noun, signifying a certain number of men in one order, as the word privycouncil with us, and so Beza interprets, that knew Calvin's mind doubtless, with whom he lived. If any amongst us should say the privycouncil ordained it, and thereby constrain us to understand one man's authority, should

we not laugh at him? And therefore when you have used all your cramping irons to the text, and done your utmost to cram a presbytery into the skin of one person, it will be but a piece of frugal nonsense. But if your meaning be with a violent hyperbaton to transpose the text, as if the words lay thus in order, 'neglect not the gift of presbytery;' this were a construction like a harquebuss shot over a file of words twelve deep, without authority to bid them stoop; or to make the word gift, like the river Mole in Surry, to run under the bottom of a long line, and so start up to govern the word presbytery, as in immediate syntaxis; a device ridiculous enough to make good that old wife's tale of a certain queen of England that sunk at Charingcross, and rose up at Queenhithe. No marvel though the prelates be a troublesome generation, and which way soever they turn them, put all things into a foul discomposure, when to maintain their domineering they seek thus to rout and disarray the wise and well couched order of St Paul's own words, using either a certain textual riot to chop off the hands of the word presbytery, or else a like kind of simony to clap the word gift between them. Besides, if the verse must be read according to this transposition, μὴ ἀμέλει τοῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, it would be improper to call ordination χάρισμα, whenas it is rather only χείρισμα, an outward testimony of approbation, unless they will make it a sacrament as the papists do; but surely the prelates would have St Paul's words ramp one over another, as they use to climb into their livings and bishoprics.

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SECTION XIII.

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Remonstrant. What is, if this be not ordination and jurisdiction?

Answer. Indeed in the constitution, and founding of a church, that some men inspired from God should have an extraordinary calling to appoint, to order and dispose, must needs be. So Moses, though himself no priest, sanctified, and ordained Aaron and his sons. But when all needful things be set, and regulated by the writings of the apostles, whether it be not a mere folly to keep up a superior degree in the church only for ordination and jurisdiction, it will be no hurt to debate a while. The apostles were the builders, and, as it were, the architects of the christian church. Wherein consisted their excellence above ordinary ministers? A prelate would say in commanding, in controlling, in appointing, in calling to them and sending from about them to all countries, their bishops and archbishops as their deputies, with a kind of legatine power. No, no, vain prelates, this was but as the scaffolding of a new edifice, which for the time must board and overlook the highest battlements; but if, the structure once finished, any passenger should fall in love with them, and pray that they might still stand, as being a singular grace, and strengthening to the house, who would otherwise think, but that the man were presently to be laid hold on, and sent to his friends and kindred?

The eminence of the apostles consisted in their powerful preaching, their unwearied laboring in the word, their unquenchable charity, which, above all earthly respects, like a working flame, had spun up to such a height of pure desire, as might be thought next

to that love which dwells in God to save souls; which, while they did, they were contented to be the off-scouring of the world, and to expose themselves willingly to all afflictions, perfecting thereby their hope through patience to a joy unspeakable.

As for ordination, what is it, but the laying on of hands, an outward sign or symbol of admission? It creates nothing, it confers nothing. It is the inward calling of God that makes a minister, and his own painful study and diligence that manures and improves his ministerial gifts. In the primitive times, many before ever they had received ordination from the apostles, had done the church noble service, as Apollos and others. It is but an orderly form of receiving a man already fitted, and committing to him a particular charge. The employment of preaching is as holy, and far more excellent. The care also and judgment to be used in the winning of souls, which is thought to be sufficient in every worthy minister, is an ability above that which is required in ordination. For many may be able to judge who is fit to be made a minister, that would not be found fit to be made ministers themselves; as it will not be denied that he may be the competent judge of a neat picture, or elegant poem, that cannot limn the like. Why therefore we should constitute a superior order in the church to perform an office which is not only every minister's function, but inferior also to that which he has a confessed right to, and why this superiority should remain thus usurped, some wise Epimenides tell us.

Now for jurisdiction, this dear saint of the prelates, it will be best to consider, first, what it is. That sovereign Lord, who, in the discharge of his holy anointment from God the Father, which made him supreme bishop of our souls, was so humble as to say, 'Who made me a judge, or a divider over ye?' hath taught

us that a churchman's jurisdiction is no more but to watch over his flock in season and out of season, to deal by sweet and efficacious instructions, gentle admonitions, and sometimes rounder reproofs. Against negligence or obstinacy, will be required a rousing volley of pastorly threatnings; against a persisting stubbornness, or the fear of a reprobate sense, a timely separation from the flock by that interdictive sentence, lest his conversation, unprohibited or unbranded, might breathe a pestilential murrain into the other sheep. In sum, his jurisdiction is to see the thriving and prospering of that which he hath planted. What other work the prelates have found for chancellors and suffragans, delegates and officials, with all the hellpestering rabble of sumners and apparitors, is but an invasion upon the temporal magistrate, and affected by them as men that are not ashamed of the ensign and banner of antichrist. But true evangelical jurisdiction or discipline is no more, as was said, than for a minister to see to the thriving and prospering of that which he hath planted. And which is the worthiest work of these two, to plant, as every minister's office is equally with the bishops, or to tend that which is planted, which the blind and undiscerning prelates call jurisdiction, and would appropriate to themselves as a business of higher dignity? Have patience therefore a little, and hear a lawcase.

A certain man of large possessions had a fair garden, and kept therein an honest and laborious servant, whose skill and profession was to set or sow all wholesome herbs, and delightful flowers, according to every season, and whatever else was to be done in a well husbanded nursery of plants and fruits. Now, when the time was come that he should cut his hedges, prune his trees, look to his tender slips, and pluck up the weeds that hindered their growth, he gets him up

by break of day, and makes account to do what was needful in his garden; and who would think that any other should know better than he, how the day's work was to be spent? Yet for all this, there comes another strange gardener that never knew the soil, never handled a dibble or spade to set the least potherb that grew there, much less had endured an hour's sweat or chillness, and yet challenges as his right the binding or unbinding of every flower, the clipping of every bush, the weeding and worming of every bed, both in that and all other gardens thereabout. The honest gardener, that ever since the daypeep till now the sun was grown somewhat rank, had wrought painfully about his banks and seedplots, at his commanding voice turns suddenly about with some wonder; and although he could have well beteemed to have thanked him of the ease he proffered, yet loving his own handywork, modestly refused him, telling him withal, that for his part, if he had thought much of his own pains, he could for once have committed the work to one of his fellow laborers, for as much as it is well known to be a matter of less skill and less labor to keep a garden handsome, than it is to plant it, or contrive it, and that he had already performed himself. No, said the stranger, this is neither for you nor your fellows to meddle with, but for me only that am for this purpose in dignity far above you; and the provision which the lord of the soil allows me in this office is, and that with good reason, tenfold your wages. The gardener smiled and shook his head; but what was determined, I cannot tell you till the end of this parliament.

Remonst. If in time you shall see wooden chalices, and wooden priests, thank yourselves.

Answ. It had been happy for this land, if your priests had been but only wooden. All England knows

they have been to this island not wood, but wormwood, that have infected the third part of our waters, like that apostate star in the Revelation, that many souls have died of their bitterness. And if you mean by wooden, illiterate or contemptible, there was no want of that sort among you, and their number increasing daily, as their laziness, their tavern hunting, their neglect of all sound literature, and their liking of doltish and monastical schoolmen daily increased. What should I tell you how the universities, that men look should be fountains of learning and knowledge, have been poisoned and choked under your governance? And if to be wooden, be to be base, where could there be found among all the reformed churches, nay, in the church of Rome itself, a baser brood of flattering and timeserving priests, according as God pronounces by Isaiah, 'The prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail.'

As for your young scholars that petition for bishoprics and deaneries to encourage them in their studies, and that many gentlemen else will not put their sons to learning; away with such young mercenary striplings, and their simoniacal fathers! God has no need of such; they have no part or lot in his vineyard. They may as well sue for nunneries, that they may have some convenient stowage for their withered daughters, because they cannot give them portions answerable to the pride and vanity they have bred them in. This is the root of all our mischief. That which they allege for the encouragement of their studies should be cut away forthwith as the very bait of pride and ambition, the very garbage that draws together all the fowls of prey and raven in the land to come and gorge upon the church. How can it be but ever unhappy to the church of England, while she shall think to entice men to the pure service of God, by the same means

that were used to tempt our Saviour to the service of the devil, by laying before him honor and preferment? Fit professors indeed are they like to be, to teach others that godliness with content is great gain, whenas their godliness of teaching had not been but for wordly gain! The heathen philosophers thought that virtue was for its own sake inestimable, and the greatest gain of a teacher to make a soul virtuous. So Xenophon writes of Socrates, who never bargained with any for teaching them. He feared not lest those who had received so high a benefit from him, would not of their own free will return him all possible thanks. Was moral virtue so lovely, and so alluring, and heathen men so enamored of her as to teach and study her with greatest neglect and contempt of worldly profit and advancement, and is christian piety so homely and so unpleasant, and christian men so cloyed with her, as that none will study and teach her, but for lucre and preferment? O stalegrown piety! O gospel rated as cheap as thy master, at thirty pence, and not worth the study, unless thou canst buy those that will sell thee! O race of Capernaïtans, senseless of divine doctrine, and capable only of loaves and belly-cheer!

But they will grant, perhaps, piety may thrive; but learning will decay. I would fain ask these men, at whose hands they seek inferior things, as wealth, honor, their dainty fare, their lofty houses? No doubt but they will soon answer, that all these things they seek at God's hands. Do they think then that all these meaner and superfluous things come from God, and the divine gift of learning from the den of Plutus, or the cave of Mammon? Certainly never any clear spirit, nursed up from brighter influences, with a soul enlarged to the dimensions of spacious art and high knowledge, ever entered there but with scorn, and

thought it ever foul disdain to make pelf or ambition the reward of his studies, it being the greatest honor, the greatest fruit and proficiency of learned studies, to despise these things. Not liberal science, but illiberal must that needs be, that mounts in contemplation merely for money. And what would it avail us to have a hireling clergy, though never so learned? For such can have neither true wisdom nor grace; and then in vain do men trust in learning, where these be wanting.

If in less noble and almost mechanic arts, according to the definitions of those authors, he is not esteemed to deserve the name of a complete architect, an excellent painter, or the like, that bears not a generous mind above the peasantly regard of wages and hire, much more must we think him a most imperfect, and incomplete divine, who is so far from being a contemner of filthy lucre, that his whole divinity is moulded and bred up in the beggarly and brutish hopes of a fat prebendary, deanery, or bishopric; which poor and lowpitched desires, if they do but mix with those other heavenly intentions that draw a man to this study, it is justly expected that they should bring forth a baseborn issue of divinity, like that of those imperfect and putrid creatures that receive a crawling life from two most unlike procreants, the sun and mud. And in matters of religion, there is not any thing more intolerable than a learned fool, or a learned hypocrite; the one is ever cooped up at his empty speculations, a sot, an ideot for any use that mankind can make of him, or else sowing the world with nice and idle questions, and with much toil and difficulty wading to his auditors up to the eyebrows in deep shallows that wet not the instep. A plain unlearned man that lives well by that light which he has, is better and wiser, and edifies others more towards a

godly and happy life than he. The other is still using his sophisticated arts, and bending all his studies how to make his insatiate avarice and ambition seem pious and orthodoxal, by painting his lewd and deceitful principles with a smooth and glossy varnish in a doctrinal way, to bring about his wickedest purposes.

Instead of the great harm, therefore, that these men fear upon the dissolving of prelates, what an ease, and happiness will it be to us, when tempting rewards are taken away, that the cunningest and most dangerous mercenaries will cease of themselves to frequent the fold, whom otherwise scarce all the prayers of the faithful could have kept back from devouring the flock? But a true pastor of Christ's sending, hath this especial mark; that for greatest labors, and greatest merits in the church, he requires either nothing, if he could so subsist, or a very common and reasonable supply of human necessaries. We cannot therefore do better than to leave this care of ours to God. He can easily send laborers into his harvest, that shall not cry, Give, give, but be contented with a moderate and beseeming allowance. Nor will he suffer true learning to be wanting, where true grace and our obedience to him abounds. For if he give us to know him aright, and to practise this our knowledge in right established discipline, how much more will he replenish us with all abilities in tongues and arts, that may conduce to his glory and our good? He can stir up rich fathers to bestow exquisite education upon their children, and so dedicate them to the service of the gospel; he can make the sons of nobles his ministers, and princes to be his Nazarites. For certainly there is no employment more honorable, more worthy to take up a great spirit, more requiring a generous and free nurture, than to be the messenger and herald of heavenly truth from God to man, and by the faithful work of holy

doctrine, to procreate a number of faithful men, making a kind of creation like to God's, by infusing his spirit and likeness into them, to their salvation, as God did into him; arising to what climate soever he turn him, like that sun of righteousness that sent him, with healing in his wings, and new light to break in upon the chill and gloomy hearts of his hearers, raising out of darksome barrenness a delicious and fragrant spring of saving knowledge and good works.

Can a man thus employed, find himself discontented, or dishonored for want of admittance to have a pragmatical voice at sessions, and jail deliveries? or because he may not as a judge sit out the wrangling noise of litigious courts to shrive the purses of unconfessing and unmortified sinners, and not their souls? or be discouraged though men call him not lord, whenas the due performance of his office would gain him even from lords and princes, the voluntary title of father? Would he tug for a barony to sit and vote in parliament, knowing that no man can take from him the gift of wisdom and sound doctrine, which leaves him free, though not to be a member, yet a teacher and persuader of the parliament? And in all wise apprehensions, the persuasive power in man to win others to goodness by instruction is greater, and more divine, than the compulsive power to restrain men from being evil by terror of the law; and therefore Christ left Moses to be the lawgiver, but himself came down amongst us to be a teacher, with which office his heavenly wisdom was so well pleased, as that he was angry with those that would have put a piece of temporal judicature into his hands, disclaiming that he had any commission from above for such matters.

Such a high calling therefore as this, sends not for those drossy spirits that need the lure and whistle of earthly preferment, like those animals that fetch and

carry for a morsel. No; she can find such as therefore study her precepts, because she teaches to despise preferment. And let not those wretched fathers think they shall impoverish the church of willing and able supply, though they keep back their sordid sperm begotten in the lustiness of their avarice, and turn them to their malting kilns. Rather let them take heed what lessons they instil into that lump of flesh which they are the cause of, lest, thinking to offer him as a present to God, they dish him out for the devil. Let the novice learn first to renounce the world, and so give himself to God, and not therefore give himself to God, that he may close the better with the world, like that false shepherd Palinode in the eclogue of May, under whom the poet lively personates our prelates, whose whole life is a recantation of their pastoral vow, and whose profession to forsake the world, as they use the matter, bogs them deeper into the world. Those our admired Spenser inveighs against, not without some presage of these reforming times.

The time was once and may again retorn,
For ought may happen that hath been beforn,
When shepherds had none inheritance,
Ne of land nor fee in sufferance,
But what might arise of the bare sheep,
Were it more or less, which they did keep.
Well I wis was it with shepherds tho,
Nought having, nought feared they to forego.
For Pan himself was their inheritance,
And little them served for their maintenance.
The shepherd's God so well them guided,
That of nought they were unprovided;
Butter enough, honey, milk and whey,
And their flocks' fleeces them to array.
But tract of time, and long prosperity,
That nource of vice, this of insolency,
Lulled the shepherds in such security,
That not content with loyal obeysance,
Some gan to gape for greedy governance,

> And match themselves with mighty potentates,
> Lovers of lordships, and troublers of states.
> Tho 'gan shepherds swains to looke aloft,
> And leave to live hard, and learne to lig soft.
> Tho under color of shepherds, some while
> There crept in wolves, full of fraud and guile,
> That often devoured their own sheep,
> And often the shepherd that did 'em keep.
> This was the first source of shepherds' sorrow,
> That now nill be quit with bale, nor borrow.

By all this we may conjecture, how little we need fear that the ungilding of our prelates, will prove the woodening of our priests. In the mean while, let no man carry in his head either such narrow, or such evil eyes, as not to look upon the churches of Belgia and Helvetia, and that envied city Geneva. Where in the christian world doth learning more flourish than in these places? Not among your beloved Jesuits, nor their favorers, though you take all the prelates into the number, and instance in what kind of learning you please. And how in England all noble sciences attending upon the train of christian doctrine may flourish more than ever, and how the able professors of every art may with ample stipends be honestly provided, and finally, how there may be better care had that their hearers may benefit by them, and all this without the prelates, the courses are so many and so easy, that I shall pass them over.

* * * *

AN

APOLOGY

FOR

SMECTYMNUUS.

If, readers, to that same great difficulty of well-doing what we certainly know, were not added in most men as great a carelessness of knowing what they and others ought to do, we had been long ere this, no doubt but all of us, much farther on our way to some degree of peace and happiness in this kingdom. But since our sinful neglect of practising that which we know to be undoubtedly true and good, hath brought forth among us, through God's just anger, so great a difficulty now to know that which otherwise might be soon learned, and hath divided us by a controversy of great importance indeed, but of no hard solution, which is the more our punishment, I resolved, of what small moment soever I might be thought, to stand on that side where I saw both the plain authority of scripture leading, and the reason of justice and equity persuading, with this opinion, which esteems it more unlike a christian to be a cold neuter in the cause of the church, than the law of Solon made it punishable after a sedition in the state.

And because I observe that fear and dull disposition, lukewarmness and sloth, are not seldomer wont to cloak themselves under the affected name of moderation, than true and lively zeal is customably disparaged with the term of indiscretion, bitterness, and choler, I could not, to my thinking, honor a good cause

more from the heart, than by defending it earnestly, as oft as I could judge it to behoove me, notwithstanding any false name that could be invented to wrong or undervalue an honest meaning. Wherein although I have not doubted to single forth more than once such of them as were thought the chief and most nominated opposers on the other side, whom no man else undertook, if I have done well either to be confident of the truth, whose force is best seen against the ablest resistance, or to be jealous and tender of the hurt that might be done among the weaker by the entrapping authority of great names titled to false opinions; or that it be lawful to attribute somewhat to gifts of God's imparting, which I boast not, but thankfully acknowledge, and fear also lest at my certain account they be reckoned to me rather many than few; or if lastly it be but justice not to defraud of due esteem the wearisome labors and studious watchings, wherein I have spent and tired out almost a whole youth, I shall not distrust to be acquitted of presumption, knowing, that if heretofore all ages have received with favor and good acceptance the early industry of him that hath been hopeful, it were but hard measure now, if the freedom of any timely spirit should be oppressed merely by the big and blunted fame of his elder adversary, and that his sufficiency must be now sentenced, not by pondering the reason he shows, but by calculating the years he brings.

However, as my purpose is not, nor hath been formerly, to look on my adversary abroad, through the deceiving glass of other men's great opinion of him, but at home, where I may find him in the proper light of his own worth; so now against the rancor of an evil tongue, from which I never thought so absurdly as that I of all men should be exempt, I must be forced to proceed, from the unfeigned and diligent in-

quiry of my own conscience at home, for better way I know not, readers, to give a more true account of myself abroad, than this modest confuter, as he calls himself, hath given of me. Albeit that in doing this, I shall be sensible of two things which to me will be nothing pleasant; the one is, that not unlikely I shall be thought too much a party in mine own cause, and therein to see least; the other, that I shall be put unwillingly to molest the public view with the vindication of a private name; as if it were worth the while that the people should care whether such a one were thus, or thus. Yet those I entreat who have found the leisure to read that name, however of small repute, unworthily defamed, would be so good and so patient as to hear the same person not unneedfully defended.

I will not deny but that the best apology against false accusers is silence and sufferance, and honest deeds set against dishonest words; and that I could at this time most easily and securely, with the least loss of reputation, use no other defence, I need not despair to win belief; whether I consider both the foolish contriving and ridiculous aiming of these his slanderous bolts, shot so wide of any suspicion to be fastened on me, that I have oft with inward contentment perceived my friends congratulating themselves in my innocence, and my enemies ashamed of their partners' folly; or whether I look at these present times wherein most men, now scarce permitted the liberty to think over their own concernments, have removed the seat of their thoughts more outward to the expectation of public events; or whether the examples of men, either noble or religious, who have sat down lately with a meek silence and sufferance, under many libellous endorsements, may be a rule to others, I might well appease myself to put up any

reproaches in such an honorable society of fellow sufferers, using no other defence. And were it that slander would be content to make an end where it first fixes, and not seek to cast out the like infamy upon each thing that hath but any relation to the person traduced, I should have pleaded against this confuter by no other advocates than those which I first commended, silence and sufferance, and speaking deeds against faltering words.

But when I discerned his intent was not so much to smite at me, as through me to render odious the truth which I had written, and to stain with ignominy that evangelic doctrine which opposes the tradition of prelaty, I conceived myself to be now not as mine own person, but as a member incorporate into that truth whereof I was persuaded, and whereof I had declared openly to be a partaker. Whereupon I thought it my duty, if not to myself, yet to the religious cause I had in hand, not to leave on my garment the least spot or blemish in good name, so long as God should give me to say that which might wipe it off; lest those disgraces which I ought to suffer, if it so befall me, for my religion, through my default religion be made liable to suffer for me. And, whether it might not something reflect upon those reverent men whose friend I may be thought in writing the Animadversions, was not my last care to consider. If I should rest under these reproaches, having the same common adversary with them, it might be counted small credit for their cause to have found such an assistant, as this babbler hath devised me. What other thing in his book there is of dispute or question, in answering thereto I doubt not to be justified, except there be who will condemn me to have wasted time in throwing down that which could not keep itself up. As for others, who, notwithstanding

what I can allege, have yet decreed to misinterpret the intents of my reply, I suppose they would have found as many causes to have misconceived the reasons of my silence.

To begin, therefore, an apology for those Animadversions, which I writ against the Remonstrant, in defence of Smectymnuus; since the preface, which was purposely set before them, is not thought apologetical enough, it will be best to acquaint ye, readers, before other things, what the meaning was to write them in that manner which I did. For I do not look to be asked wherefore I writ the book, it being no difficulty to answer, that I did it to those ends which the best men propose to themselves when they write; but wherefore in that manner, neglecting the main bulk of all that specious antiquity, which might stun children, but not men, I chose rather to observe some kind of military advantages, to await him at his foragings, at his waterings, and whenever he felt himself secure, to solace his vein in derision of his more serious opponents. And here let me have pardon, readers, if the remembrance of that which he hath licensed himself to utter contemptuously of those reverend men, provoke me to do that over again which some expect I should excuse as too freely done; since I have two provocations, his latest insulting in his short answer, and their final patience.

I had no fear but that the authors of Smectymnuus, to all the show of solidity which the Remonstrant could bring, were prepared, both with skill and purpose, to return a sufficing answer, and were able enough to lay the dust and pudder in antiquity, which he and his, out of stratagem, are wont to raise; but when I saw his weak arguments headed with sharp taunts, and that his design was, if he could not refute them,

yet at least with quips and snapping adages to vapor them out, which they, bent only upon the business, were minded to let pass; by how much I saw them taking little thought for their own injuries, I must confess, I took it as my part the less to endure that my respected friends, through their own unnecessary patience, should thus lie at the mercy of a coy, flirting style, to be girded with frumps and curtal gibes, by one who makes sentences by the statute, as if all above three inches long were confiscate. To me it seemed an indignity, that whom his whole wisdom could not move from their place, them his impetuous folly should presume to ride over. And if I were more warm than was meet in any passage of that book, which yet I do not yield, I might use therein the patronage of no worse an author than Gregory Nyssen, who, mentioning his sharpness against Eunomius in the defence of his brother Basil, holds himself irreprovable in that 'it was not for himself, but in the cause of his brother; and in such cases,' saith he, 'perhaps it is worthier pardon to be angry than to be cooler.' And whereas this confuter taxes the whole discourse of levity, I shall shew ye, readers, wheresoever it shall be objected in particular, that I have answered with as little lightness as the Remonstrant hath given example. I have not been so light as the palm of a bishop, which is the lightest thing in the world when he brings out his book of ordination; for then, contrary to that which is wont in releasing out of prison, any one that will pay his fees is laid hands on.

Another reason it would not be amiss though the Remonstrant were told, wherefore he was in that unusual manner beleaguered; and this was it, to pluck out of the heads of his admirers the conceit that all who are not prelatical, are grossheaded, thickwitted,

illiterate, shallow. Can nothing then but episcopacy teach men to speak good English, to pick and order a set of words judiciously? Must we learn from canons and quaint sermonings, interlined with barbarous Latin, to illumine a period, to wreath an enthymema with masterous dexterity? I rather incline, as I have heard it observed that a Jesuit's Italian, when he writes, is ever naught, though he be born and bred a Florentine; so to think that from like causes we may go near to observe the same in the style of a prelate. For doubtless that indeed according to art is most eloquent, which turns and approaches nearest to nature, from whence it came; and they express nature best, who in their lives least wander from her safe leading, which may be called regenerate reason. So that how he should be truly eloquent who is not withal a good man, I see not.

Nevertheless, as often as is to be dealt with men who pride themselves in their supposed art, to leave them inexcusable wherein they will not be bettered; there be of those that esteem prelaty a figment, who yet can pipe if they can dance, nor will be unfurnished to show that what the prelates admire and have not, others have and admire not. The knowledge whereof, and not of that only, but of what the scripture teacheth us how we ought to withstand the perverters of the gospel, were those other motives which gave the Animadversions no leave to remit a continual vehemence throughout the book. For as in teaching doubtless the spirit of meekness is most powerful, so are the meek only fit persons to be taught. As for the proud, the obstinate, and false doctors of men's devices, be taught they will not, but discovered and laid open they must be. For how can they admit of teaching, who have the condemnation of God already upon them for refusing divine instruction? That is

to be filled with their own devices, as in the Proverbs we may read. Therefore we may safely imitate the method that God uses; 'with the froward to be froward, and to throw scorn upon the scorner,' whom, if any thing, nothing else will heal. And if the 'righteous shall laugh at the destruction of the ungodly,' they may also laugh at their pertinacious and incurable obstinacy, and at the same time be moved with detestation of their seducing malice, who employ all their wits to defend a prelaty usurped, and to deprave that just government which pride and ambition, partly by fine fetches and pretences, partly by force, hath shouldered out of the church. And against such kind of deceivers openly and earnestly to protest, lest any one should be inquisitive wherefore this or that man is forwarder than others, let him know that this office goes not by age or youth, but to whomsoever God shall give apparently the will, the spirit, and the utterance.

Ye have heard the reasons for which I thought not myself exempted from associating with good men in their labors toward the church's welfare, to which, if any one brought opposition, I brought my best resistence. If, in requital of this and for that I have not been negligent toward the reputation of my friends, I have gained a name bestuck, or, as I may say, bedecked with the reproaches and reviles of this modest confuter, it shall be to me neither strange nor unwelcome, as that which could not come in a better time.

Having rendered an account what induced me to write those Animadversions in that manner as I writ them, I come now to see what the Confutation hath to say against them; but so as the confuter shall hear first what I have to say against his Confutation. And because he pretends to be a great conjector at other men by their writings, I will not fail to give ye, read-

ers, a present taste of him from his title, hung out like a tolling sign post to call passengers, not simply a confutation, but 'A modest Confutation,' with a laudatory of itself obtruded in the very first word. Whereas a modest title should only inform the buyer what the book contains without further insinuation, this officious epithet, so hastily assuming the modesty which others are to judge of by reading, not the author to anticipate to himself by forestalling, is a strong presumption that his modesty, set there to sale in the frontispiece, is not much addicted to blush. A surer sign of his lost shame he could not have given, than seeking thus unseasonably to prepossess men of his modesty. And seeing he hath neither kept his word in the sequel, nor omitted any kind of boldness in slandering, it is manifest his purpose was only to rub the forehead of his title with this word modest, that he might not want color to be the more impudent throughout his whole Confutation.

Next, what can equally savour of injustice and plain arrogance, as to prejudice and forecondemn his adversary in the title for 'slanderous and scurrilous,' and as the Remonstrant's fashion is, for frivolous, tedious, and false, not staying till the reader can hear him proved so in the following discourse? which is one cause of a suspicion that in setting forth this pamphlet, the Remonstrant was not unconsulted with. Thus his first address was 'An humble Remonstrance by a dutiful Son of the Church,' almost as if he had said, her whiteboy. His next was, 'A Defence', a wonder how it escaped some praising adjunct, 'against the frivolous and false Exceptions of Smectymnuus,' sitting in the chair of his titlepage upon his poor cast adversaries, both as a judge and party, and that before the jury of readers can be impannelled. His last was 'A short Answer to a tedious Vindication;' so little can

he suffer a man to measure either with his eye or judgment, what is short or what tedious, without his preoccupying direction; and from hence is begotten this 'modest Confutation against a slanderous and scurrilous Libel.'

I conceive, readers, much may be guessed at the man and his book, what depth there is, by the framing of his title, which being in this Remonstrant so rash and unadvised as ye see, I conceit him to be near akin to him who set forth a passion sermon with a formal dedicatory in great letters to our Saviour. Although I know that all we do, ought to begin and end to his praise and glory, yet to inscribe him in a void place with flourishes, as a man in compliment uses to trick up the name of some esquire, gentleman, or lord paramount at common law, to be his book-patron, with the appendant form of a ceremonious presentment, will ever appear among the judicious to be an insulse and frigid affectation. As no less was that before his book against the Brownists, to write a letter to a Prosopopœia, a certain rhetorized woman whom he calls mother, and complains of some that laid whoredom to her charge; and certainly had he folded his epistle with a superscription to be delivered to that female figure by any post or carrier who were not a ubiquitary, it had been a most miraculous greeting. We find the primitive doctors as oft as they write to churches, speaking to them as to a number of faithful brethren and sons, and not to make a cloudy transmigration of sexes in such a familiar way of writing as an epistle ought to be, leaving the track of common address, to run up, and tread the air in metaphorical compellations, and many fond utterances, better let alone.

But I step again to this emblazoner of his title page, whether it be the same man or no, I leave it in the

midst, and here I find him pronouncing, without reprieve, those Animadversions to be a slanderous and scurrilous libel; to which I, readers, that they are neither slanderous, nor scurrilous, will answer in what place of his book he shall be found with reason, and not ink only in his mouth. Nor can it be a libel more than his own, which is both nameless and full of slanders; and if in this, that it freely speaks of things amiss in religion, but established by act of state, I see not how Wickliffe and Luther, with all the first martyrs and reformers, could avoid the imputation of libelling. I never thought the human frailty of erring in cases of religion, infamy to a state, no more than to a council. It had therefore been neither civil nor christianly, to derogate the honor of the state for that cause, especially when I saw the parliament itself piously and magnanimously bent to supply and reform the defects and oversights of their forefathers, which, to the godly and repentant ages of the Jews, were often matter of humble confessing and bewailing, not of confident asserting and maintaining. Of the state therefore I found good reason to speak all honorable things, and to join in petition with good men that petitioned; but against the prelates, who were the only seducers and misleaders of the state to constitute the government of the church not rightly, methought I had not vehemence enough.

And thus, readers, by the example which he hath set me, I have given ye two or three notes of him out of his titlepage, by which his firstlings fear not to guess boldly at his whole lump, for that guess will not fail ye; and although I tell him keen truth, yet he may bear with me, since I am like to chase him into some good knowledge, and others, I trust, shall not misspend their leisure. For this my aim is, if I am forced to be unpleasing to him whose fault it is, I

shall not forget at the same time to be useful in something to the stander by.

As therefore he began in the title, so in the next leaf he makes it his first business to tamper with his reader by sycophanting and misnaming the work of his adversary. He calls it 'a mime thrust forth upon the stage to make up the breaches of those solemn scenes between the prelates and Smectymnuans;' wherein while he is so overgreedy to fix a name of ill sound upon another, note how stupid he is to expose himself or his own friends to the same ignominy, likening those grave controversies to a piece of stagery, or scene work, where his own Remonstrant, whether in buskin or sock, must of all right be counted the chief player, be it boasting Thraso, or Davus that troubles all things, or one who can shift into any shape, I meddle not; let him explicate who hath resembled the whole argument to a comedy, for 'tragical,' he says, 'were too ominous.'

Nor yet doth he tell us what a mime is, whereof we have no pattern from ancient writers, except some fragments, which contain many acute and wise sentences. And this we know in Laertius, that the mimes of Sophron were of such reckoning with Plato, as to take them nightly to read on, and after make them his pillow. Scaliger describes a mime to be a poem imitating any action to stir up laughter. But this being neither poem, nor yet ridiculous, how is it but abusively taxed to be a mime? For if every book which may by chance excite to laugh here and there, must be termed thus, then may the dialogues of Plato, who, for those his writings, hath obtained the surname of divine, be esteemed as they are by that detractor in Athenæus, no better than mimes; because there is scarce one of them, especially wherein some notable sophister lies sweating and turmoiling under the

inevitable and merciless dilemmas of Socrates, but that he who reads, were it Saturn himself, would be often robbed of more than a smile. And whereas he tells us that 'scurrilous mime was a personated grim lowering fool,' his foolish language unwittingly writes fool upon his own friend; for he who was there personated, was only the Remonstrant; the author is ever distinguished from the person he introduces.

But in an ill hour hath this unfortunate rashness stumbled upon the mention of miming, that he might at length cease, which he hath not yet since he stept in, to gall and hurt him whom he would aid. Could he not beware, could he not bethink him, was he so uncircumspect, as not to foresee, that no sooner would that word mime be set eye on in the paper, but it would bring to mind that wretched pilgrimage over Minshew's Dictionary, called 'Mundus alter et idem,' the idlest and the paltriest mime that ever mounted upon bank? Let him ask 'the author of those toothless satires,' who was the maker, or rather the anticreator of that universal foolery? who he was, who, like that other principle of the Manichees, the arch evil one, when he had looked upon all that he had made and mapped out, could say no other but contrary to the Divine mouth, that it was all very foolish?

That grave and noble invention which the greatest and sublimest wits in sundry ages, Plato in Critias, and our two famous countrymen, the one in his 'Utopia,' the other in his 'New Atlantis' chose, I may not say as a field, but as a mighty continent, wherein to display the largeness of their spirits, by teaching this our world better and exacter things than were yet known or used; this petty prevaricator of America, the zany of Columbus, for so he must be till his world's end, having rambled over the huge topography of his own vain thoughts, no marvel if he brought us

home nothing but a mere tankard drollery, a venereous parjetory for a stews. Certainly, he that could endure with a sober pen to sit and devise laws for drunkards to carouse by, I doubt me whether the very soberness of such a one, like an unliquored Silenus, were not stark drunk. Let him go now and brand another man injuriously with the name of mime, being himself the loosest and most extravagant mime that hath been heard of, whom no less than almost half the world could serve for stage room to play the mime in. And let him advise again with Sir Francis Bacon, whom he cites to confute others, what it is to 'turn the sins of Christendom into a mimical mockery, to rip up the saddest vices with a laughing countenance,' especially where neither reproof nor better teaching is adjoined. Nor is my meaning, readers, to shift off a blame from myself, by charging the like upon my accuser, but shall only desire that sentence may be respited, till I can come to some instance whereto I may give answer.

Thus having spent his first onset, not in confuting, but in a reasonless defaming of the book, the method of his malice hurries him to attempt the like against the author, not by proofs and testimonies, but 'having no certain notice of me,' as he professes, 'further than what he gathers from the Animadversions,' blunders at me for the rest, and flings out stray crimes at a venture, which he could never, though he be a serpent, suck from any thing that I have written, but from his own stuffed magazine and hoard of slanderous inventions, over and above that which he converted to venom in the drawing.

To me, readers, it happens as a singular contentment, and let it be to good men no light satisfaction, that the slanderer here confesses, he has 'no further notice of me than his own conjecture;' although it

had been honest to have inquired, before he uttered such infamous words, and I am credibly informed he did inquire; but finding small comfort from the intelligence which he received, whereon to ground the falsities which he had provided, thought it his likeliest course, under a pretended ignorance, to let drive at random, lest he should lose his odd ends, which from some penurious book of characters he had been culling out and would fain apply; not caring to burden me with those vices, whereof among whom my conversation hath been, I have been ever least suspected, perhaps not without some subtlety to cast me into envy, by bringing on me a necessity to enter into mine own praises; in which argument, I know every wise man is more unwillingly drawn to speak, than the most repining ear can be averse to hear. Nevertheless, since I dare not wish to pass this life unpersecuted of slanderous tongues, for God hath told us that to be generally praised is woful, I shall rely on his promise to free the innocent from causeless aspersions; whereof nothing sooner can assure me, than if I shall feel him now assisting me in the just vindication of myself, which yet I could defer, it being more meet that to those other matters of public debatement in this book, I should give attendance first, but that I fear it would but harm the truth for me to reason in her behalf, so long as I should suffer my honest estimation to lie unpurged from these insolent suspicions. And if I shall be large, or unwonted in justifying myself to those who know me not, for else it would be needless, let them consider that a short slander will oftimes reach further than a long apology, and that he who will do justly to all men, must begin from knowing how, if it so happen, to be not unjust to himself.

I must be thought, if this libeller, for now he shows

himself to be so, can find belief, after an inordinate and riotous youth spent at the university, to have been at length 'vomited out thence.' For which commodious lie, that he may be encouraged in the trade another time, I thank him; for it hath given me an apt occasion to acknowledge, publicly with all grateful mind, that more than ordinary favor and respect which I found above any of my equals, at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the fellows of that college wherein I spent some years, who, at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways, how much better it would content them that I would stay, as by many letters full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time and long after, I was assured of their singular good affection towards me; which being likewise propense to all such as were for their studious and civil life worthy of esteem, I could not wrong their judgments and upright intentions, so much as to think I had that regard from them for other cause than that I might be still encouraged to proceed in the honest and laudable courses, of which they apprehended I had given good proof. And to those ingenuous and friendly men, who were ever the countenancers of virtuous and hopeful wits, I wish the best and happiest things that friends in absence wish one to another. As for the common approbation or dislike of that place, as now it is, that I should esteem or disesteem myself, or any other the more for that, too simple and too credulous is the confuter, if he think to obtain with me or any right discerner. Of small practice were that physician, who could not judge by what both she or her sister hath of long time vomited, that the worser stuff she strongly keeps in her stomach, but the better she is ever kecking at, and is queasy. She vomits now out of sickness; but ere it will be

well with her, she must vomit by strong physic. In the mean while, that suburb sink, as this rude scavenger calls it, and more than scurrilously taunts it with the plague, having a worse plague in his middle entrail, that suburb wherein I dwell, shall be in my account a more honorable place than his university, which as in the time of her better health and mine own younger judgment, I never greatly admired, so now much less.

But he follows me to the city, still usurping and forging beyond his book notice, which only he affirms to have had, 'and where my morning haunts are, he wisses not.' It is wonder, that being so rare an alchymist of slander, he could not extract that, as well as the university vomit and the suburb sink, which his art could distil so cunningly; but because his limbec fails him, to give him and envy the more vexation, I will tell him.

Those morning haunts are where they should be, at home; not sleeping, or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but up and stirring, in winter often ere the sound of any bell awake men to labor or to devotion; in summer, as oft with the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to read good authors, or cause them to be read, till the attention be weary, or memory have its full fraught; then with useful and generous labors preserving the body's health and hardiness, to render lightsome, clear, and not lumpish obedience to the mind, to the cause of religion, and our country's liberty, when it shall require firm hearts in sound bodies to stand and cover their stations, rather than to see the ruin of our protestation, and the enforcement of a slavish life. These are the morning practices. Proceed now to the afternoon; 'in playhouses,' he says, 'and the bordelloes.'

Your intelligence, unfaithful spy of Canaan? He

gives in his evidence, that 'there he hath traced me.' Take him at his word, readers, but let him bring good sureties ere ye dismiss him, that while he pretended to dog others, he did not turn in for his own pleasure; for so much, in effect, he concludes against himself, not contented to be caught in every other gin, but he must be such a novice, as to be still hampered in his own hemp. In the Animadversions, saith he, I find the mention of old cloaks, false beards, nightwalkers, and salt lotion; therefore the animadverter haunts playhouses and bordelloes; for if he did not, how could he speak of such gear? Now, that he may know what it is to be a child, and yet to meddle with edged tools, I turn his antistrophon upon his own head. The confuter knows that these things are the furniture of playhouses and bordelloes, therefore, by the same reason, 'the confuter himself hath been traced in those places.' Was it such a dissolute speech, telling of some politicians who were wont to eavesdrop in disguises, to say they were often liable to a nightwalking cudgeller, or the emptying of a urinal? What if I had writ, as your friend the author of the aforesaid mime, 'Mundus alter et idem,' to have been ravished like some young Cephalus or Hylas, by a troop of camping housewives in Viraginea, and that he was there forced to swear himself an uxorious varlet; then, after a long servitude, to have come into Aphrodisia, that pleasant country, that gave such a sweet smell to his nostrils among the shameless courtezans of Desvergonia? Surely he would have then concluded me as constant at the bordello, as the galleyslave at his oar.

But since there is such necessity to the hearsay of a tire, a periwig, or a vizard, that plays must have been seen, what difficulty was there in that? when, in the colleges, so many of the young divines, and those

in next aptitude to divinity, have been seen so often upon the stage, writhing and unboning their clergy-limbs to all the antic and dishonest gestures of Trinculoes, buffoons, and bawds, prostituting the shame of that ministry, which either they had, or were nigh having, to the eyes of courtiers and court ladies, with their grooms and madamoiselles. There while they acted, and overacted, among other young scholars, I was a spectator; they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools; they made sport, and I laughed; they mispronounced, and I misliked; and to make up the atticism, they were out, and I hissed. Judge now whether so many good textmen were not sufficient to instruct me of false beards and vizards, without more expositors; and how can this confuter take the face to object to me the seeing of that which his reverend prelates allow, and incite their young disciples to act? For if it be unlawful to sit and behold a mercenary comedian personating that which is least unseemly for a hireling to do, how much more blameful is it to endure the sight of as vile things acted by persons either entered, or presently to enter into the ministry? and how much more foul and ignominious for them to be the actors?

But because as well by this upbraiding to me the bordelloes, as by other suspicious glancings in his book, he would seem privily to point me out to his readers, as one whose custom of life were not honest, but licentious, I shall intreat to be borne with, though I digress, and in a way not often trod, acquaint ye with the sum of my thoughts in this matter, through the course of my years and studies; although I am not ignorant how hazardous it will be to do this under the nose of the envious, as it were in skirmish to change the compact order, and, instead of outward actions, to bring inmost thoughts into front. And I must tell ye,

readers, that by this sort of men I have been already bitten at; yet shall they not for me know how slightly they are esteemed, unless they have so much learning as to read what in Greek ἀνιμερωλία is, which together with envy, is the common disease of those who censure books that are not for their reading. With me it fares now, as with him whose outward garment hath been injured and ill bedighted; for having no other shift, what help but to turn the inside outwards, especially if the lining be of the same, or, as it is sometimes, much better? So if my name and outward demeanour be not evident enough to defend me, I must make trial, if the discovery of my inmost thoughts can; wherein of two purposes both honest, and both sincere, the one perhaps I shall not miss; although I fail to gain belief with others of being such as my perpetual thoughts shall here disclose me, I may yet not fail of success in persuading some to be such really themselves, as they cannot believe me to be more than what I fain.

I had my time, readers, as others have, who have good learning bestowed upon them, to be sent to those places, where the opinion was, it might be soonest attained; and as the manner is, was not unstudied in those authors which are most commended; whereof some were grave orators and historians, whose matter methought I loved indeed, but as my age then was, so I understood them; others were the smooth elegiac poets, whereof the schools are not scarce, whom both for the pleasing sound of their numerous writing, which in imitation I found most easy and most agreeable to nature's part in me, and for their matter, which what it is, there be few who know not, I was so allured to read, that no recreation came to me better welcome; for that it was then those years with me which are excused though they be least severe, I

may be saved the labor to remember ye. Whence having observed them to account it the chief glory of their wit, in that they were ablest to judge, to praise, and by that could esteem themselves worthiest to love those high perfections which under one or other name they took to celebrate, I thought with myself by every instinct and presage of nature which is not wont to be false, that what emboldened them to this task, might with such diligence as they used, embolden me; and that what judgment, wit, or elegance was my share, would herein best appear, and best value itself, by how much more wisely, and with more love of virtue I should choose, let rude ears be absent, the object of not unlike praises; for albeit these thoughts to some will seem virtuous and commendable, to others only pardonable, to a third sort perhaps idle, yet the mentioning of them now will end in serious.

Nor blame it, readers, in those years to propose to themselves such a reward, as the noblest dispositions above other things in this life have sometimes preferred; whereof not to be sensible, when good and fair in one person meet, argues both a gross and shallow judgment, and withal an ungentle and swainish breast. For by the firm settling of these persuasions, I became, to my best memory, so much a proficient, that if I found those authors any where speaking unworthy things of themselves, or unchaste of those names which before they had extolled, this effect it wrought with me; from that time forward their art I still applauded, but the men I deplored; and above them all, preferred the two famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura, who never write but honor of them to whom they devote their verse, displaying sublime and pure thoughts without transgression. And long it was not after, when I was confirmed in this opinion; that he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write

well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem; that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honorablest things; not presuming to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities, unless he have in himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy.

These reasonings, together with a certain niceness of nature, an honest haughtiness, and selfesteem either of what I was or what I might be, which let envy call pride, and lastly that modesty, whereof though not in the title page, yet here I may be excused to make some beseeming profession; all these uniting the supply of their natural aid together, kept me still above those low descents of mind, beneath which he must deject and plunge himself, that can agree to saleable and unlawful prostitutions.

Next, for hear me out now, readers, that I may tell ye whither my younger feet wandered, I betook me among those lofty fables and romances, which recount in solemn cantos, the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renown over all Christendom. There I read it in the oath of every knight, that he should defend to the expense of his best blood or of his life, if it so befell him, the honor and chastity of virgin or matron; from whence even then I learned what a noble virtue chasty sure must be, to the defence of which so many worthies by such a dear adventure of themselves had sworn; and if I found in the story afterward, any of them by word or deed breaking that oath, I judged it the same fault of the poet as that which is attributed to Homer, to have written indecent things of the gods; only this my mind gave me, that every free and gentle spirit, without that oath, ought to be born a knight, nor needed to expect the gilt spur, or the laying of a sword upon his shoulder to stir him up

both by his counsel and his arm, to secure and protect the weakness of any attempted chastity. So that even these books, which to many others have been the fuel of wantonness and loose living, I cannot think how, unless by divine indulgence, proved to me so many incitements, as you have heard, to the love and steadfast observation of that virtue which abhors the society of bordelloes.

Thus from the laureat fraternity of poets, riper years, and the ceaseless round of study and reading, led me to the shady spaces of philosophy; but chiefly to the divine volumes of Plato, and his equal Xenophon; where if I should tell ye what I learned of chastity and love, I mean that which is truly so, whose charming cup is only virtue, which she bears in her hand to those who are worthy, (the rest are cheated with a thick intoxicating potion, which a certain sorceress, the abuser of love's name, carries about) and how the first and chiefest office of love begins and ends in the soul, producing those happy twins of her divine generation, knowledge and virtue; with such abstracted sublimities as these, it might be worth your listening, readers, as I may one day hope to have ye in a still time, when there shall be no chiding; not in these noises, the adversary, as ye know, barking at the door, or searching for me at the bordelloes, where it may be he has lost himself, and raps up without pity the sage and rheumatic old prelatess, with all her young Corinthian laity, to inquire for such a one.

Last of all, not in time, but as perfection is last, that care was ever had of me, with my earliest capacity, not to be negligently trained in the precepts of christian religion. This that I have hitherto related, hath been to show, that though Christianity had been but slightly taught me, yet a certain reservedness of natural disposition, and moral discipline, learned out

of the noblest philosophy, was enough to keep me in disdain of far less incontinences than this of the bordello. But having had the doctrine of holy scripture, unfolding those chaste and high mysteries, with timeliest care infused, that 'the body is for the Lord, and the Lord for the body,' thus also I argued to myself, that if unchastity in a woman, whom St Paul terms the glory of man, be such a scandal and dishonor, then certainly in a man, who is both the image and glory of God, it must, though commonly not so thought, be much more deflouring and dishonorable, in that he sins both against his own body, which is the perfecter sex, and his own glory, which is in the woman, and that which is worst, against the image and glory of God, which is in himself. Nor did I slumber over that place, expressing such high rewards of ever accompanying the Lamb, with those celestial songs to others inapprehensible, but not to those who were not defiled with women, which doubtless means fornication; for marriage must not be called a defilement.

Thus large I have purposely been, that if I have been justly taxed with this crime, it may come upon me after all this my confession, with a tenfold shame; but if I have hitherto deserved no such opprobrious word or suspicion, I may hereby engage myself now openly to the faithful observation of what I have professed. I go on to show you the unbridled impudence of this loose railer, who, having once begun his race, regards not how far he flies out beyond all truth and shame; who, from the single notice of the Animadversions, as he protests, will undertake to tell ye the very clothes I wear, though he be much mistaken in my wardrobe; and like a son of Belial, without the hire of Jezabel, charges me 'of blaspheming God and the king,' as ordinarily as he imagines 'me to drink sack and swear,' merely because this was a shred in

his commonplace book, and seemed to come off roundly, as if he were some empiric of false accusations, to try his poisons upon me, whether they would work or no; whom what should I endeavour to refute more, whenas that book which is his only testimony returns the lie upon him, not giving him the least hint of the author to be either a swearer, or a sack-drinker. And for the readers, if they can believe me, principally for those reasons which I have alleged, to be of life and purpose neither dishonest nor unchaste, they will be easily induced to think me sober both of wine and of word; but if I have been already successless in persuading them, all that I can further say will be but vain, and it will be better thrift to save two tedious labors; mine of excusing, and theirs of needless hearing.

Proceeding further, I am met with a whole ging of words and phrases not mine, for he hath maimed them, and, like a sly depraver, mangled them in this his wicked limbo, worse than the ghost of Deiphobus appeared to his friend Æneas. Here I scarce know them, and he that would, let him repair to the place in that book where I set them; for certainly this tormentor of semicolons is as good at dismembering and slitting sentences, as his grave fathers the prelates have been at stigmatizing and slitting noses. By such handicraft as this, what might he not traduce? Only that odor, which, being his own, must needs offend his sense of smelling, since he will needs bestow his foot among us, and not allow us to think he wears a sock, I shall endeavour it may be offenceless to other men's ears.

The Remonstrant, having to do with grave and reverend men his adversaries, thought it became him to tell them in scorn, that 'the bishop's foot had been in their book and confuted it;' which, when I saw

him arrogate to have done that with his heels that surpassed the best consideration of his head, to spurn a confutation among respected men, I questioned not the lawfulness of moving his jollity to bethink him, what odor a sock would have in such painful business. And this may have chanced to touch him more nearly than I was aware; for indeed a bishop's foot that hath all his toes maugre the gout, and a linen sock over it, is the aptest emblem of the prelate himself, who, being a pluralist, may under one surplice, which is also linen, hide four benefices, besides the metropolitan toe, and sends a fouler stench to heaven than that which this young queasiness retches at. And this is the immediate reason here why our enraged confuter, that he may be as perfect an hypocrite as Caiaphas, ere he be a high priest, cries out, 'Horrid blasphemy!' and, like a recreant Jew, calls for stones. I beseech ye, friends, ere the brickbats fly, resolve me and yourselves, is it blasphemy, or any whit disagreeing from christian meekness, whenas Christ himself, speaking of unsavoury traditions, scruples not to name the dunghill and the jakes, for me to answer a slovenly wincer of a confutation, that if he would needs put his foot to such a sweaty service, the odor of his sock was like to be neither musk nor Benjamin? Thus did that foolish monk in a barbarous declamation accuse Petrarch of blasphemy for dispraising the French wines.

But this which follows is plain Bedlam stuff; this is the demoniac legion indeed, which the Remonstrant feared had been against him, and now he may see is for him. 'You that love Christ,' saith he, 'and know this miscreant wretch, stone him to death, lest you smart for his impunity.' What thinks the Remonstrant? Does he like that such words as these should come out of his shop, out of his Trojan horse?

to give the watchword like a Guisian of Paris to a mutiny or massacre? to proclaim a croisade against his fellow Christian now in this troublous and divided time of the kingdom? If he do, I shall say that to be the Remonstrant, is no better than to be a Jesuit; and that if he and his accomplices could do as the rebels have done in Ireland to the protestants, they would do in England the same to them that would no prelates. For a more seditious and butcherly speech no cell of Loyola could have belched against one, who, in all his writing, spake not, that any man's skin should be raised. And yet this cursing Shimei, a hurler of stones, as well as a railer, wants not the face instantly to make as though he 'despaired of victory unless a modest defence would get it him.' Did I err at all, readers, to foretell ye, when first I met with his title, that the epithet of modest there, was a certain red portending sign, that he meant ere long to be most tempestuously bold and shameless?

Nevertheless, 'he dares not say, but there may be hid in his nature as much venomous atheism and profanation, as he thinks hath broke out at his adversary's lips; but he hath not the sore running upon him,' as he would intimate I have. Now trust me not, readers, if I be not already weary of pluming and footing this seagull, so open he lies to strokes, and never offers at another, but brings home the dorre upon himself. For if the sore be running upon me, in all judgment I have escaped the disease; but he who hath as much hid in him as he hath voluntarily confest, and cannot expel it, because he is dull, for venomous atheism were no treasure to be kept within him else, let him take the part he hath chosen, which must needs follow, to swell and burst with his own inward venom.

SECTION I.

But mark, readers, there is a kind of justice observed among them that do evil, but this man loves injustice in the very order of his malice. For having all this while abused the good name of his adversary with all manner of license in revenge of his Remonstrant, if they be not both one person, or as I am told, father and son, yet after all this he calls for satisfaction, whenas he himself hath already taken the utmost farthing. 'Violence hath been done,' says he, 'to the person of a holy and religious prelate.' To which, something in effect to what St Paul answered of Ananias, I answer, 'I wist not brethren that he was a holy and religious prelate;' for evil is written of those who would be prelates. And finding him thus in disguise without his superscription or phylactery, either of holy or prelate, it were no sin to serve him as Longchamp, bishop of Ely, was served in his disguise at Dover. He hath begun the measure nameless, and when he pleases we may all appear as we are. And let him be then what he will, he shall be to me so as I find him principled. For neither must prelate or archprelate hope to exempt himself from being reckoned as one of the vulgar, which is for him only to hope whom true wisdom and the contempt of vulgar opinions exempts, it being taught us in the Psalms, that he who is in honor and understandeth not, is as the beasts that perish.

And now, first, 'the manner of handling that cause' which I undertook, he thinks is suspicious, as if the wisest and the best words were not ever to some or other suspicious. But where is the offence, the disagreement from christian meekness, or the precept of Solomon in answering folly? When the Remonstrant talks of froth and scum, I tell him there is none, and

bid him spare his ladle; when he brings in the mess with kail, beef, and brewis, what stomach in England could forbear to call for flanks and briskets? Capon and white broth having been likely sometimes in the same room with Christ and his apostles, why does it trouble him that it should be now in the same leaf, especially, where the discourse is not continued, but interrupt? And let him tell me, is he wont to say grace? Doth he not then name holiest names over the steam of costliest superfluities? Does he judge it foolish or dishonest to write that among religious things, which when he talks of religious things, he can devoutly chew? Is he afraid to name Christ where those things are written in the same leaf, whom he fears not to name while the same things are in his mouth? Doth not Christ himself teach the highest things by the similitude of old bottles and patched clothes? Doth he not illustrate best things by things most evil? his own coming to be as a thief in the night, and the righteous man's wisdom to that of an unjust steward? He might therefore have done better to have kept in his canting beggars and heathen altar, to sacrifice his threadbare criticism of Bomolochus to an unseasonable goddess fit for him, called Importunity, and have reserved his Greek derivation till he lecture to his freshmen; for here his itching pedantry is but flouted.

But to the end that nothing may be omitted which may farther satisfy any conscionable man, who notwithstanding what I could explain before the Animadversions, remains yet unsatisfied concerning that way of writing which I there defended, but this confuter whom it pinches, utterly disapproves, I shall assay once again, and perhaps with more success. If therefore the question were in oratory, whether a vehement vein, throwing out indignation or scorn upon

an object that merits it, were among the aptest ideas of speech to be allowed, it were my work, and that an easy one, to make it clear both by the rules of best rhetoricians, and the famousest examples of the Greek and Roman orations. But since the religion of it is disputed, and not the art, I shall make use only of such reasons and authorities as religion cannot except against.

It will be harder to gainsay, than for me to evince, that in the teaching of men diversely tempered different ways are to be tried. The Baptist, we know, was a strict man, remarkable for austerity and set order of life. Our Saviour who had all gifts in him, was Lord to express his indoctrinating power in what sort him best seemed; sometimes by a mild and familiar converse; sometimes with plain and impartial homespeaking, regardless of those whom the auditors might think he should have had in more respect; otherwhile with bitter and ireful rebukes, if not teaching, yet leaving excuseless those his wilful impugners. What was all in him, was divided among many others the teachers of his church; some to be severe and ever of a sad gravity, that they may win such, and check sometimes those who be of nature overconfident and jocund; others were sent more cheerful, free, and still as it were at large, in the midst of an untrespassing honesty, that they who are so tempered, may have by whom they might be drawn to salvation, and they who are too scrupulous and dejected of spirit, might be often strengthened with wise consolations and revivings; no man being forced wholly to dissolve that groundwork of nature which God created in him, the sanguine to empty out all his sociable liveliness, the choleric to expel quite the unsinning predominance of his anger; but that each radical humor and passion wrought upon and corrected as it ought, might be

made the proper mould and foundation of every man's peculiar gifts and virtues. Some also were endued with a staid moderation, and soundness of argument, to teach and convince the rational and soberminded; yet not therefore that to be thought the only expedient course of teaching; for in times of opposition, when either against new heresies arising or old corruptions to be reformed, this cool unpassionate mildness of positive wisdom is not enough to damp and astonish the proud resistance of carnal and false doctors, then, that I may have leave to soar awhile as the poets use, Zeal, whose substance is ethereal, arming in complete diamond, ascends his fiery chariot drawn with two blazing meteors figured like beasts, but of a higher breed than any the zodiac yields, resembling two of those four which Ezekiel and St John saw, the one visaged like a lion to express power, high authority and indignation, the other of countenance like a man, to cast derision and scorn upon perverse and fraudulent seducers; with these, the invincible warrior Zeal, shaking loosely the slack reins, drives over the heads of scarlet prelates, and such as are insolent to maintain traditions, bruising their stiff necks under his flaming wheels. Thus did the true prophets of old combat with the false; thus Christ himself, the fountain of meekness, found acrimony enough to be still galling and vexing the prelatical Pharisees.

But ye will say these had immediate warrant from God to be thus bitter; and I say, so much the plainer is it proved, that there may be a sanctified bitterness against the enemies of truth. Yet that ye may not think inspiration only the warrant thereof, but that it is as any other virtue, of moral and general observation, the example of Luther may stand for all, whom God made choice of before others to be of

highest eminence and power in reforming the church; who, not of revelation but of judgment, writ so vehemently against the chief defenders of old untruths in the Romish church, that his own friends and favorers were many times offended with the fierceness of his spirit; yet he, being cited before Charles the Fifth to answer for his books, and having divided them into three sorts, whereof one was of those which he had sharply written, refused, though upon deliberation given him, to retract or unsay any word therein, as we may read in Sleidan. Yea, he defends his eagerness, as being 'of an ardent spirit, and one who could not write a dull style,' and affirmed, 'he thought it God's will to have the inventions of men thus laid open, seeing that matters quietly handled were quickly forgot.' And herewithal how useful and available God had made this tart rhetoric in the church's cause, he often found by his own experience. For when he betook himself to lenity and moderation, as they call it, he reaped nothing but contempt both from Cajetan and Erasmus, from Cocleus, from Ecchius, and others, insomuch that blaming his friends who had so counselled him, he resolved never to run into the like error. If at other times he seem to excuse his vehemence, as more than what was meet, I have not examined through his works, to know how far he gave way to his own fervent mind; it shall suffice me to look to mine own.

And this I shall easily aver, though it may seem a hard saying, that the spirit of God, who is purity itself, when he would reprove any fault severely, or but relate things done or said with indignation by others, abstains not from some words not civil at other times to be spoken. Omitting that place in Numbers at the killing of Zimri and Cozbi, done by Phineas in the height of zeal, related, as the Rabbins expound, not

without an obscene word, we may find in Deuteronomy and three of the prophets, where God denouncing bitterly the punishments of idolaters, tells them in a term immodest to be uttered in cool blood, that their wives shall be defiled openly.

But these, they will say, were honest words in that age when they were spoken; which is more than any Rabbin can prove; and certainly had God been so minded, he could have picked such words as should never have come into abuse. What will they say to this? David going against Nabal, in the very same breath when he had just before named the name of God, he vows not 'to leave any alive of Nabal's house that pisseth against the wall.' But this was unadvisedly spoke, you will answer, and set down to aggravate his infirmity. Turn then to the first of Kings, where God himself uses the phrase, 'I will cut off from Jeroboam him that pisseth against the wall;' which, had it been an unseemly speech in the heat of an earnest expression, then we must conclude that Jonathan or Onkelos, the Targumists, were of cleaner language than he that made the tongue; for they render it as briefly, 'I will cut off all who are at years of discretion,' that is to say, so much discretion as to hide nakedness; whereas God, who is the author both of purity and eloquence, chose this phrase as fittest in that vehement character wherein he spake. Otherwise that plain word might have easily been forborne; which the Masoreths and Rabbinical scholiasts not well attending, have often used to blur the margent with Keri instead of Ketiv, and gave us this insulse rule out of their Talmud; 'That all words which in the law are writ obscenely, must be changed to more civil words;' fools, who would teach men to read more decently than God thought good to write! And thus I take it to be manifest, that indignation

against men and their actions notoriously bad, hath leave and authority ofttimes to utter such words and phrases as in common talk were not so mannerly to use, that ye may know, not only as the historian speaks, 'that all those things for which men plough, build, or sail, obey virtue,' but that all words, and whatsoever may be spoken, shall at some time, in an unwonted manner, wait upon her purposes.

Now, that the confutant may also know, as he desires, what force of teaching there is sometimes in laughter, I shall return him in short, that laughter being one way of answering 'a fool according to his folly,' teaches two sorts of persons, first, the fool himself 'not to be wise in his own conceit,' as Solomon affirms; which is certainly a great document, to make an unwise man know himself. Next, it teacheth the hearers, in as much as scorn is one of those punishments which belong to men carnally wise, which is oft in scripture declared; for when such are punished, 'the simple are thereby made wise,' if Solomon's rule be true. And I would ask, to what end Eliah mocked the false prophets? Was it to show his wit, or to fulfil his humor? Doubtless we cannot imagine that great servant of God had any other end in all which he there did, but to teach and instruct the poor misled people. And we may frequently read, that many of the martyrs, in the midst of their troubles, were not sparing to deride and scoff their superstitious persecutors. Now may the confutant advise again with Sir Francis Bacon, whether Eliah and the martyrs did well to turn religion into a comedy or satire; 'to rip up the wounds of idolatry and superstition with a laughing countenance;' so that for pious gravity the author here is matched and overmatched, and, for wit and morality, in one that follows,

'——— laughing to teach the truth
What hinders? as some teachers give to boys
Junkets and knacks, that they may learn apace.'

Thus Flaccus in his first Satire, and his tenth;

'——— Jesting decides great things
Stronglier, and better oft than earnest can.'

I could urge the same out of Cicero and Seneca; but he may content him with this, and henceforth, if he can learn, may know as well what are the bounds and objects of laughter and vehement reproof, as he hath known hitherto how to deserve them both.

But lest some may haply think, or thus expostulate with me after all this debatement, Who made you the busy almoner to deal about this dole of laughter and reprehension, which no man thanks your bounty for? to the urbanity of that man, I should answer much after this sort; that I, friend objector, having read of heathen philosophers, some to have taught that whosoever would but use his ear to listen, might hear the voice of his guiding Genius ever before him, calling, and, as it were, pointing to that way which is his part to follow; others, as the Stoics, to account reason, which they call the Hegemonicon, to be the common Mercury, conducting without error those that give themselves obediently to be led accordingly; having read this, I could not esteem so poorly of the faith which I profess, that God had left nothing to those who had forsaken all other doctrines for his, to be an inward witness and warrant of what they have to do, as that they should need to measure themselves by other men's measures, how to give scope or limit to their proper actions; for that were to make us the most at a stand, the most uncertain and accidental wanderers in our doings, of all religions in the world. So that the question erewhile moved, who he is that spends thus the benevolence of laughter and reproof

so liberally upon such men as the prelates, may return with a more just demand, who he is not of place and knowledge never so mean, under whose contempt and jirk these men are not deservedly fallen.

Neither can religion receive any wound by disgrace thrown upon the prelates, since religion and they were never in such amity. They rather are the men who have wounded religion, and their stripes must heal her. I might also tell them, what Electra in Sophocles, a wise virgin, answered her wicked mother, who thought herself too violently reproved by her, the daughter.

> 'T is you that say it, not I; you do the deeds,
> And your ungodly deeds find me the words.

If, therefore, the Remonstrant complain of libels, it is because he feels them to be right aimed. For I ask again, as before in the Animadversions, how long is it since he hath disrelished libels? We never heard the least mutter of his voice against them while they flew abroad without control or check, defaming the Scots and Puritans. And yet he can remember of none but Lysimachus Nicanor, and 'that he misliked and censured.' No more but of one can the Remonstrant remember? What if I put him in mind of one more? What if of one more, whereof the Remonstrant in many likelihoods may be thought the author? Did he never see a pamphlet entitled after his own fashion, 'A Survey of that foolish, seditious, scandalous, profane Libel, the Protestation protested?' The child doth not more expressly refigure the visage of his father, than that book resembles the style of the Remonstrant, in those idioms of speech, wherein he seems most to delight; and in the seventeenth page, three lines together are taken out of the Remonstrance, word for word, not as a citation, but as an author borrows from himself.

Whoever it be, he may as justly be said to have libelled, as he against whom he writes. There ye shall find another man than here is made show of; there he bites as fast as this whines. 'Vinegar in the ink' is there 'the antidote of vipers.' Laughing in a religious controversy is there 'a thrifty physic to expel his melancholy.'

In the mean time the testimony of Sir Francis Bacon was not misalleged, complaining that libels on the bishops' part were uttered openly; and if he hoped the prelates had no intelligence with the libellers, he delivers it but as his favorable opinion. But had he contradicted himself, how could I assoil him here, more than a little before, where I know not how, by entangling himself, he leaves an aspersion upon Job, which by any else I never heard laid to his charge? For having affirmed that 'there is no greater confusion than the confounding of jest and earnest,' presently he brings the example of Job, 'glancing at conceits of mirth, when he sat among the people with the gravity of a judge upon him.' If jest and earnest be such a confusion, then were the people much wiser than Job, for, 'he smiled and they believed him not.'

To defend libels, which is that whereof I am next accused, was far from my purpose. I had not so little share in good name, as to give another that advantage against myself. The sum of what I said was, that a more free permission of writing at some times might be profitable, in such a question especially wherein the magistrates are not fully resolved, and both sides have equal liberty to write, as now they have; not as when the prelates bore sway, in whose time the books of some men were confuted, when they who should have answered were in close prison, denied the use of pen or paper. And the divine

right of episcopacy was then valiantly asserted, when he who would have been respondent must have bethought himself withal how he could refute the Clink or the Gatehouse. If now therefore they be pursued with bad words, who persecuted others with bad deeds, it is a way to lessen tumult rather than to increase it; whenas anger thus freely vented, spends itself ere it break out into action, though Machiavel, whom he cites, or any Machiavelian priest think the contrary.

SECTION III.

Now, readers, I bring ye to his third section; wherein very cautiously and no more than needs. Lest I should take him for some chaplain at hand, some squire of the body to his prelate, one that serves not at the altar only, but at the court cupboard, he will bestow on us a pretty model of himself, and sobs me out half a dozen phthisical mottoes, wherever he had them, hopping short in the measure of convulsion-fits; in which labor the agony of his wit having escaped narrowly, instead of well sized periods, he greets us with a quantity of thumb-ring posies. 'He has a fortune therefore good, because he is content with it.' This is a piece of sapience not worth the brain of a fruit trencher; as if content were the measure of what is good or bad in the gift of fortune. For by this rule a bad man may have a good fortune, because he may be ofttimes content with it, for many reasons which have no affinity with virtue, as love of ease, want of spirit to use more, and the like. 'And therefore content,' he says, 'because it neither goes before, nor comes behind his merit.' Belike then if his fortune should go before his merit, he would not be content, but resign, if we believe him, which I do the less.

because he implies, that if it came behind his merit, he would be content as little. Whereas, if a wise man's content should depend upon such a therefore, because his fortune came not behind his merit, how many wise men could have content in this world?

In his next pithy symbol, I dare not board him, for he passes all the seven wise masters of Greece, attributing to himself that which, on my life, Solomon durst not, 'to have affections so equally tempered, that they neither too hastily adhere to the truth before it be fully examined, nor too lazily afterward;' which, unless he only were exempted out of the corrupt mass of Adam, born without sin original, and living without actual, is impossible. Had Solomon, for it behoves me to instance in the wisest, dealing with such a transcendent sage as this, had Solomon affections so equally tempered, as 'not adhering too lazily to the truth,' when God warned him of his halting in idolatry? Do we read that he repented hastily? Did not his affections lead him hastily from an examined truth, how much more would they lead him slowly to it? Yet this man, beyond a Stoic apathy, sees truth as in a rapture, and cleaves to it; not as through the dim glass of his affections, which, in this frail mansion of flesh, are ever unequally tempered, pushing forward to error, and keeping back from truth ofttimes the best of men.

But how far this boaster is from knowing himself, let his preface speak. Something I thought it was that made him so quicksighted to gather such strange things out of the Animadversions, whereof the least conception could not be drawn from thence, of 'suburb sinks,' sometimes 'out of wit and clothes,' sometimes 'in new serge, drinking sack, and swearing;' now I know it was this equal temper of his affections that gave him to see clearer than any fennelrubbed serpent.

Lastly, he has resolved 'that neither person nor cause shall improper him.' I may mistake his meaning, for the word ye hear is 'improper.' But whether, if not a person, yet a good parsonage or impropriation, bought out for him, would not 'improper' him, because there may be a quirk in the word, I leave it for a canonist to resolve.

SECTION IV.

And thus ends this section, or rather dissection of himself, short ye will say, both in breath and extent, as in our own praises it ought to be, unless wherein a good name hath been wrongfully attainted. Right; but if ye look at what he ascribes to himself, 'that temper of his affections' which cannot any where be but in paradise, all the judicious panegyrics in any language extant are not half so prolix. And that well appears in his next removal. For what with putting his fancy to the tiptoe in this description of himself, and what with adventuring presently to stand upon his own legs without the crutches of his margent, which is the sluice most commonly that feeds the drought of his text, he comes so lazily on in a simile, with his 'armfull of weeds,' and demeans himself in the dull expression so like a dough-kneaded thing, that he has not spirit enough left him so far to look to his syntax, as to avoid nonsense. For it must be understood there, that the stranger, and not he who brings the bundle, would be deceived in censuring the field, which this hipshot grammarian cannot set into right frame of construction, neither here in the similitude, nor in the following reddition thereof; which being to this purpose, that 'the faults of the best picked out, and presented in gross, seem monstrous, this,' saith he, 'you have done, in pinning on his sleeve the faults

of others;' as if to pick out his own faults, and to pin the faults of others upon him, were to do the same thing. To answer, therefore, how I have culled out the evil actions of the Remonstrant from his virtues, I am acquitted by the dexterity and conveyance of his nonsense, losing that for which he brought his parable.

But what of other men's faults I have pinned upon his sleeve, let him show. For whether he were the man who termed the martyrs, Foxian confessors, it matters not; he that shall step up before others to defend a church government, which wants almost no circumstance, but only a name to be a plain popedom, a government which changes the fatherly and ever-teaching discipline of Christ into that lordly and uninstructing jurisdiction which properly makes the pope antichrist, makes himself an accessory to all the evil committed by those, who are armed to do mischief by that undue government; which they, by their wicked deeds, do, with a kind of passive and unwitting obedience to God, destroy; but he by plausible words and traditions against the scripture, obstinately seeks to maintain. They, by their own wickedness, ruining their own unjust authority, make room for good to succeed. But he, by a show of good, upholding the evil which in them undoes itself, hinders the good which they by accident let in. Their manifest crimes serve to bring forth an ensuing good, and hasten a remedy against themselves; and his seeming good tends to reinforce their selfpunishing crimes and his own, by doing his best to delay all redress. Shall not all the mischief which other men do, be laid to his charge, if they do it by that unchurchlike power which he defends? Christ saith, 'He that is not with me, is against me, and he that gathers not with me, scatters.' In what degree of enmity to Christ shall we place

that man then, who so is with him, as that it makes more against him, and so gathers with him, that it scatters more from him? Shall it avail that man to say he honors the martyrs' memory, and treads in their steps? No; the Pharisees confessed as much of the holy prophets.

Let him and such as he, when they are in their best actions, even at their prayers, look to hear that which the Pharisees heard from John the Baptist, when they least expected, when they rather looked for praise from him; 'Generation of vipers, who hath warned ye to flee from the wrath to come?' Now that ye have started back from the purity of scripture, which is the only rule of reformation, to the old vomit of your traditions, now that ye have either troubled or leavened the people of God and the doctrine of the gospel with scandalous ceremonies and massborrowed liturgies, do ye turn the use of that truth which ye profess, to countenance that falsehood which ye gain by?

We also reverence the martyrs, but rely only upon the scriptures. And why we ought not to rely upon the martyrs, I shall be content with such reasons as my confuter himself affords me; who is, I must needs say for him, in that point as officious an adversary as I would wish to any man. For, 'first,' saith he, 'there may be a martyr in a wrong cause, and as courageous in suffering as the best; sometimes in a good cause with a forward ambition displeasing to God. Otherwhiles they that story of them out of blind zeal or malice, may write many things of them untruly.' If this be so, as ye hear his own confession, with what safety can the Remonstrant rely upon the martyrs as 'patrons of his cause,' whenas any of those who are alleged for the approvers of our liturgy or prelaty, might have been, though not in a wrong

cause, martyrs? yet whether not vainly ambitious of that honor, or whether not misreported or misunderstood in those their opinions, God only knows. The testimony of what we believe in religion, must be such as the conscience may rest on to be infallible and incorruptible, which is only the word of God.

SECTION V.

His fifth section finds itself aggrieved, that the Remonstrant should be taxed with the illegal proceeding of the high commission, and oath ex officio; and first, 'whether they were illegal or no, it is more than he knows.' See this malevolent fox! that tyranny which the whole kingdom cried out against as stung with adders and scorpions, that tyranny which the parliament, in compassion of the church and commonwealth, hath dissolved and fetched up by the roots, for which it hath received the public thanks and blessings of thousands, this obscure thorneater of malice and detraction, as well as of quodlibets and sophisms, knows not whether it were illegal or not! Evil, evil would be your reward, ye worthies of the parliament, if this sophister and his accomplices had the censuring or the sounding forth of your labors. And that the Remonstrant cannot wash his hands of all the cruelties exercised by the prelates, is past doubting. They scourged the confessors of the gospel, and he held the scourgers' garments. They executed their rage; and he, if he did nothing else, defended the government with the oath that did it, and the ceremonies which were the cause of it. Does he think to be counted guiltless?

SECTION VI.

In the following section I must foretell ye, readers, the doings will be rough and dangerous, the baiting of a satire. And if the work seem more trivial or boisterous than for this discourse, let the Remonstrant thank the folly of this confuter, who could not let a private word pass, but he must make all this blaze of it.

I had said, that because the Remonstrant was so much offended with those who were tart against the prelates, sure he loved toothless satires, which I took were as improper as a toothed sleekstone. This champion from behind the arras cries out, that those toothless satires were of the Remonstrant's making, and arms himself here tooth and nail, and horn to boot, to supply the want of teeth, or rather of gums in the satires; and for an onset tells me, that the simile of a sleekstone 'shows I can be as bold with a prelate as familiar with a laundress.' But does it not argue rather the lascivious promptness of his own fancy, who from the harmless mention of a sleekstone could neigh out the remembrance of his old conversation among the Viraginian trollops? For me, if he move me, I shall claim his own oath, the oath ex officio against any priest or prelate in the kingdom, to have ever as much hated such pranks as the best and chastest of them all.

That exception which I made against toothless satires, the confuter hopes I had from the satirist, but is far deceived; neither had I ever read the hobbling distich which he means. For this good hap I had from a careful education, to be inured and seasoned betimes with the best and elegantest authors of the learned tongues, and thereto brought an ear that could measure a just cadence, and scan without articulating;

rather nice and humorous in what was tolerable, than patient to read every drawling versifier. Whence lighting upon this title of 'toothless satires,' I will not conceal ye what I thought, readers, that sure this must be some sucking satire, who might have done better to have used his coral and made an end of breeding, ere he took upon him to wield a satire's whip. But when I heard him talk of 'scouring the rusty swords of elvish knights,' do not blame me, if I changed my thought, and concluded him some desperate cutler. But why 'his scornful muse could never abide with tragic shoes her ancles for to hide,' the pace of the verse told me that her mawkin knuckles were never shapen to that royal buskin. And turning by chance to the sixth satire of his second book, I was confirmed; where, having begun loftily 'in heaven's universal alphabet,' he falls down to that wretched poorness and frigidity, as to talk of 'Bridge-street in Heaven, and the Ostler of Heaven;' and there wanting other matter to catch him a heat, for certain he was in the frozen zone miserably benumbed, with thoughts lower than any beadle betakes him to whip the signposts of Cambridge alehouses, the ordinary subject of freshmens' tales, and in a strain as pitiful; which for him who would be counted the first English satire, to abase himself to, who might have learned better among the Latin and Italian satirists, and in our own tongue from the 'Vision and Creed of Pierce Plowman,' besides others before him, manifested a presumptuous undertaking with weak and unexamined shoulders. For a satire, as it was born out of a tragedy, so ought to resemble his parentage, to strike high, and adventure dangerously at the most eminent vices among the greatest persons, and not to creep into every blind taphouse that fears a constable more than a satire. But that such a poem should be

toothless, I still affirm it to be a bull, taking away the essence of that which it calls itself. For if it bite neither the persons nor the vices, how is it a satire? And if it bite either, how is it toothless? So that toothless satires are as much as if he had said toothless teeth. What we should do, therefore, with this learned comment upon teeth and horns, which hath brought this confutant into his pedantic kingdom of Cornucopia, to reward him for glossing upon horns even to the Hebrew root, I know not; unless we should commend him to be lecturer in Eastcheap upon St Luke's day, when they send their tribute to that famous haven by Deptford. But we are not like to escape him so. For now the worm of criticism works in him, he will tell us the derivation of 'German rutters, of meat, and of ink,' which doubtless, rightly applied with some gall in it, may prove good to heal this tetter of pedagogueism that bespreads him, with such a tenesmus of originating, that if he be an Arminian and deny original sin, all the etymologies of his book shall witness that his brain is not meanly tainted with that infection.

SECTION VII.

His seventh section labors to cavil out the flaws which were found in the Remonstrant's logic; who having laid down for a general proposition, that 'civil polity is variable and arbitrary,' from whence was inferred logically upon him that he had concluded the polity of England to be arbitrary, for general includes particular; here his defendant is not ashamed to confess that the Remonstrant's proposition was sophistical by a fallacy, called ad plures interrogationes; which sounds to me somewhat strange that a Remonstrant of that pretended sincerity should bring deceitful and doubledealing propositions to the parliament.

The truth is, he had let slip a shrewd passage ere he was aware, not thinking the conclusion would turn upon him with such a terrible edge, and not knowing how to wind out of the briars, he or his substitute seems more willing to lay the integrity of his logic to pawn, and grant a fallacy in his own major where none is, than to be forced to uphold the inference. For that distinction of possible and lawful is ridiculous to be sought for in that proposition; no man doubting that it is possible to change the form of civil polity; and that it is held lawful by that major, the word 'arbitrary' implies. Nor will this help him, to deny that it is arbitrary 'at any time, or by any undertakers,' which are the limitations invented by him since; for when it stands as he will have it now by his second edition, 'civil polity is variable, but not at any time, or by any undertakers,' it will result upon him, belike then at some time, and by some undertakers it may. And so he goes on mincing the matter, till he meets with something in Sir Francis Bacon. Then he takes heart again, and holds his major at large. But by and by, as soon as the shadow of Sir Francis hath left him, he falls off again warping and warping, till he come to contradict himself in diameter; and denies flatly that it is 'either variable or arbitrary, being once settled;' which third shift is no less a piece of laughter; for before the polity was settled, how could it be variable, whenas it was no polity at all, but either an anarchy or a tyranny? That limitation therefore, of after-settling, is a mere tautology. So that in fine his former assertion is now recanted, and 'civil polity is neither variable nor arbitrary.'

SECTION VIII.

Whatever else may persuade me that this Confutation was not made without some assistance or advice of the Remonstrant, yet in this eighth section that his hand was not greatly intermixed, I can easily believe. For it begins with this surmise, that 'not having to accuse the Remonstrant to the king, I do it to the parliament;' which conceit of the man cleanly shoves the king out of the parliament, and makes two bodies of one; whereas the Remonstrant in the epistle to his last 'Short Answer,' gives his suppcsa', 'that they cannot be severed in the rights of their several concernments.' Mark, readers, if they cannot be severed in what is several, which casts a bull's eye to go yoke with the toothless satires, how should they be severed in their common concernments, the welfare of the land, by due accusation of such as are the common grievances, among which I took the Remonstrant to be one? And therefore if I accused him to the parliament, it was the same as to accuse him to the king.

Next, he casts it into the dish of I know not whom, 'that they flatter some of the house, and libel others whose consciences made them vote contrary to some proceedings.' Those some proceedings can be understood of nothing else but the deputy's execution. And can this private concoctor of malcontent, at the very instant when he pretends to extol the parliament, afford thus to blur over, rather than to mention that public triumph of their justice and constancy, so high, so glorious, so reviving to the fainted commonwealth, with such a suspicious and murmuring expression as to call it 'some proceedings?' And yet immediately he falls to glossing, as if he were the only man that rejoiced at these times. But I shall discover to ye,

readers, that this his praising of them is as full of nonsense and scholastic foppery, as his meaning he himself discovers to be full of close malignity.

His first encomium is, 'that the sun looks not upon a braver, nobler convocation than is that of king, peers, and commons.' One thing I beg of ye, readers, as ye bear any zeal to learning, to elegance, and that which is called decorum in the writing of praise, especially on such a noble argument, ye would not be offended, though I rate this cloistered lubber according to his deserts. Where didst thou learn to be so aguish, so pusillanimous, thou losel bachelor of art, as against all custom and use of speech, to term the high and sovereign court of parliament, a 'convocation?' Was this the flower of all the synonymas and voluminous papers, whose best folios are predestined to no better end than to make winding sheets in lent for pilchers? Couldst thou presume thus, with one word's speaking, to clap as it were under hatches the king with all his peers and gentry into square caps and monkish hoods? How well dost thou now appear to be a chip of the old block, that could find 'Bridge-street and alehouses in Heaven?' Why didst thou not, to be his perfect imitator, liken the king to the vicechancellor, and the lords to the doctors?

Neither is this an indignity only, but a reproach, to call that inviolable residence of justice and liberty, by such an odious name as now a 'convocation' is become, which would be nothing injured, though it were styled the house of bondage, whereout so many cruel tasks, so many unjust burdens have been laden upon the bruised consciences of so many Christians throughout the land. But which of those worthy deeds, whereof we and our posterity must confess this parliament to have done so many and so noble, which of those memorable acts comes first into his praises?

None of all, not one. What will he then praise them for? not for any thing doing, but for deferring to do, for deferring to chastise his lewd and insolent compriests; not that they have deferred all, but that he hopes they will remit what is yet behind.

For the rest of his oratory that follows, so just is it in the language of stall epistle nonsense, that if he who made it can understand it, I deny not but that he may deserve for his pains a cast doublet. When a man would look he should vent something of his own, as ever in a set speech the manner is with him that knows any thing, he, lest we should not take notice enough of his barren stupidity, declares it by alphabet, and refers us to odd remnants in his topics. Nor yet content with the wonted room of his margent, but he must cut out large docks and creeks into his text to unlade the foolish frigate of his unseasonable authorities, not therewith to praise the parliament, but to tell them what he would have them do. What else there is, he jumbles together in such a lost construction, as no man either lettered or unlettered, will be able to piece up. I shall spare to transcribe him, but if I do him wrong, let me be so dealt with.

Now, although it be a digression from the ensuing matter, yet because it shall not be said I am apter to blame others than to make trial myself, and that I may after this harsh discord touch upon a smoother string awhile to entertain myself and him that list, with some more pleasing fit, and not the least to testify the gratitude which I owe to those public benefactors of their country, for the share I enjoy in the common peace and good by their incessant labors; I shall be so troublesome to this declaimer for once, as to show him what he might have better said in their praise; wherein I must mention only some few things of many, for more than that to a digression may not be

granted. Although certainly their actions are worthy not thus to be spoken of by the way, yet, if hereafter, it befall me to attempt something more answerable to their great merits, I perceive how hopeless it will be to reach the height of their praises at the accomplishment of that expectation that waits upon their noble deeds, the unfinishing whereof already surpasses what others before them have left enacted with their utmost performance through many ages. And to the end we may be confident, that what they do, proceeds neither from uncertain opinion, nor sudden counsels, but from mature wisdom, deliberate virtue, and dear affection to the public good, I shall begin at that which made them likeliest, in the eyes of good men, to effect those things for the recovery of decayed religion and the commonwealth, which they who were best minded had long wished for, but few, as the times then were desperate, had the courage to hope for.

First, therefore, the most of them being either of ancient and high nobility, or at least of known and well reputed ancestry, which is a great advantage towards virtue one way, but in respect of wealth, ease, and flattery, which accompany a nice and tender education, is as much a hindrance another way; the good which lay before them they took, in imitating the worthiest of their progenitors, and the evil which assaulted their younger years by the temptation of riches, high birth, and that usual bringing up, perhaps too favorable and too remiss, through the strength of an inbred goodness, and with the help of divine grace that had marked them out for no mean purposes, they nobly overcame. Yet had they a greater danger to cope with; for being trained up in the knowledge of learning, and sent to those places which were intended to be the seedplots of piety and the liberal arts, but

were become the nurseries of superstition and empty speculation, as they were prosperous against those vices which grow upon youth out of idleness and superfluity, so were they happy in working off the harms of their abused studies and labors, correcting by the clearness of their own judgment the errors of their misinstruction, and were, as David was, wiser than their teachers. And although their lot fell into such times and to be bred in such places, where, if they chanced to be taught any thing good or of their own accord had learned it, they might see that presently untaught them by the custom and ill example of their elders; so far in all probability was their youth from being misled by the single power of example, as their riper years were known to be unmoved with the baits of preferment, and undaunted for any discouragement and terror, which appeared often to those that loved religion and their native liberty; which two things God hath inseparably knit together, and hath disclosed to us, that they who seek to corrupt our religion, are the same that would enthral our civil liberty.

Thus, in the midst of all disadvantages and disrespects, some also at last, not without imprisonment and open disgraces in the cause of their country, having given proof of themselves to be better made and framed by nature to the love and practice of virtue, than others under the holiest precepts and best examples have been headstrong and prone to vice; and having, in all the trials of a firm, ingrafted honesty, not oftener buckled in the conflict than given every opposition the foil; this, moreover, was added by favor from Heaven, as an ornament and happiness to their virtue, that it should be neither obscure in the opinion of men, nor eclipsed for want of matter equal to illustrate itself, God and man consenting in joint approbation to choose them out as worthiest above

others to be both the great reformers of the church, and the restorers of the commonwealth.

Nor did they deceive that expectation, which, with the eyes and desires of their country, was fixed upon them; for no sooner did the force of so much united excellence meet in one globe of brightness and efficacy, but encountering the dazzled resistance of tyranny, they gave not over, though their enemies were strong and subtle, till they had laid her grovelling upon the fatal block, with one stroke winning again our lost liberties and charters, which our forefathers, after so many battles, could scarce maintain. And meeting next, as I may so resemble, with the second life of tyranny, (for she was grown an ambiguous monster and to be slain in two shapes) guarded with superstition, which hath no small power to captivate the minds of men otherwise most wise, they neither were taken with her mitred hypocrisy, nor terrified with the push of her bestial horns, but breaking them, immediately forced her to unbend the pontifical brow, and recoil; which repulse only given to the prelates, that we may imagine how happy their removal would be, was the producement of such glorious effects and consequences in the church, that if I should compare them with those exploits of highest fame in poems and panegyrics of old, I am certain it would but diminish and impair their worth, who are now my argument. For those ancient worthies delivered men from such tyrants as were content to enforce only an outward obedience, letting the mind be as free as it could; but these have freed us from a doctrine of tyranny that offered violence and corruption even to the inward persuasion. They set at liberty nations and cities of men, good and bad mixed together; but these, opening the prisons and dungeons, called out of darkness and bonds the elect martyrs and witnesses

of their Redeemer. They restored the body to ease and wealth; but these, the oppressed conscience to that freedom which is the chief prerogative of the gospel, taking off those cruel burdens imposed, not by necessity, as other tyrants are wont for the safeguard of their lives, but laid upon our necks by the strange wilfulness and wantonness of a needless and jolly persecutor, called Indifference. Lastly, some of those ancient deliverers have had immortal praises for preserving their citizens from a famine of corn. But these, by this only repulse of an unholy hierarchy, almost in a moment replenished with saving knowledge their country, nigh famished for want of that which should feed their souls.

All this being done while two armies in the field stood gazing on, the one in reverence of such nobleness quietly gave back and dislodged; the other, spite of the unruliness and doubted fidelity in some regiments, was either persuaded or compelled to disband and retire home. With such a majesty had their wisdom begirt itself, that whereas others had levied war to subdue a nation that sought for peace, they, sitting here in peace, could so many miles extend the force of their single words, as to overawe the dissolute stoutness of an armed power, secretly stirred up and almost hired against them. And having, by a solemn protestation, vowed themselves and the kingdom anew to God and his service, and by a prudent foresight, above what their fathers thought on, prevented the dissolution and frustrating of their designs by an untimely breaking up, notwithstanding all the treasonous plots against them, all the rumors either of rebellion or invasion, they have not been yet brought to change their constant resolution, ever to think fearlessly of their own safeties, and hopefully of the commonwealth; which hath gained them such an

admiration from all good men, that now they hear it as their ordinary sirname, to be saluted the fathers of their country, and sit as gods among daily petitions and public thanks flowing in upon them; which doth so little yet exalt them in their own thoughts, that with all gentle affability and courteous acceptance, they both receive and return that tribute of thanks which is tendered them; testifying their zeal and desire to spend themselves, as it were piecemeal, upon the grievances and wrongs of their distressed nation; insomuch that the meanest artisans and laborers, at other times also women, and often the younger sort of servants assembling with their complaints, and that sometimes in a less humble guise than for petitioners, have gone with confidence, that neither their meanness would be rejected, nor their simplicity contemned, nor yet their urgency distasted, either by the dignity, wisdom, or moderation of that supreme senate; nor did they depart unsatisfied. And, indeed, if we consider the general concourse of suppliants, the free and ready admittance, the willing and speedy redress in what is possible, it will not seem much otherwise, than as if some divine commission from heaven were descended to take into hearing and commiseration the long remediless afflictions of this kingdom, were it not that none more than themselves labor to remove and divert such thoughts, lest men should place too much confidence in their persons, still referring us and our prayers to Him that can grant all, and appointing the monthly return of public fasts and supplications. Therefore the more they seek to humble themselves, the more does God, by manifest signs and testimonies, visibly honor their proceedings, and sets them as the mediators of this his covenant, which he offers us to renew.

Wicked men daily conspire their hurt, and it comes to nothing; rebellion rages in our Irish province, but

with miraculous and lossless victories of few against many, is daily discomfited and broken, if we neglect not this early pledge of God's inclining towards us, by the slackness of our needful aids. And whereas at other times we count it ample honor when God vouchsafes to make man the instrument and subordinate worker of his gracious will, such acceptation have their prayers found with him, that to them he hath been pleased to make himself the agent, and immediate performer of their desires, dissolving their difficulties when they are thought inexplicable, cutting out ways for them where no passage could be seen, as who is there so regardless of Divine Providence, that from late occurrences will not confess? If, therefore, it be so high a grace, when men are preferred to be but the inferior officers of good things from God, what is it when God himself condescends and works with his own hands to fulfil the requests of men? which I leave with them as the greatest praise that can belong to human nature; not that we should think they are at the end of their glorious progress, but that they will go on to follow his almighty leading, who seems to have thus covenanted with them, that if the will and the endeavour shall be theirs, the performance and the perfecting shall be his. Whence only it is that I have not feared, though many wise men have miscarried in praising great designs before the utmost event, because I see who is their assistant, who is their confederate, who hath engaged his omnipotent arm to support and crown with success their faith, their fortitude, their just and magnanimous actions, till he have brought to pass all that expected good, which, his servants trust, is in his thoughts to bring upon this land in the full and perfect reformation of his church.

Thus far I have digressed, readers, from my former

subject; but into such a path, as I doubt not ye will agree with me, to be much fairer and more delightful than the roadway I was in. And how to break off suddenly into those jarring notes which this confuter hath set me, I must be wary, unless I can provide against offending the ear, as some musicians are wont skilfully to fall out of one key into another, without breach of harmony. By good luck, therefore, his ninth section is spent in mournful elegy, certain passionate soliloquies, and two whole pages of interrogatories that praise the Remonstrant even to the sonneting of 'his fresh cheeks, quick eyes, round tongue, agile hand, and nimble invention.'

In his tenth section he will needs erect figures, and tell fortunes. 'I am no bishop,' he says; 'I was never born to it.' Let me tell therefore this wizard, since he calculates so right, that he may know there be in the world, and I among those, who nothing admire his idol, a bishopric, and hold that it wants so much to be a blessing, as that I rather deem it the merest, the falsest, the most unfortunate gift of fortune. And were the punishment and misery of being a prelate bishop, terminated only in the person, and did not extend to the affliction of the whole diocess, if I would wish any thing in the bitterness of soul to mine enemy, I would wish him the biggest and fattest bishopric.

But he proceeds; and the familiar belike informs him, that 'a rich widow, or a lecture, or both, would content me;' whereby I perceive him to be more ignorant in his art of divining, than any gypsy. For this I cannot omit, without ingratitude to that Providence above, who hath ever bred me up in plenty, although my life hath not been unexpensive in learning and voyaging about. So long as it shall please him to lend me what he hath hitherto thought good, which is enough to serve me in all honest and liberal

occasions and something over besides, I were unthankful to that highest bounty, if I should make myself so poor, as to solicit needily any such kind of rich hopes as this fortuneteller dreams of. And that he may further learn how his astrology is wide all the houses of heaven in spelling marriages, I care not if I tell him thus much professedly, though it be the losing of my rich hopes, as he calls them, that I think with them who, both in prudence and elegance of spirit, would choose a virgin of mean fortunes honestly bred, before the wealthiest widow. The fiend, therefore, that told our Chaldean the contrary, was a lying fiend.

His next venom he utters against a prayer which he found in the Animadversions, angry, it seems, to find any prayers but in the service book. He dislikes it, and I therefore like it the better. 'It was theatrical,' he says; and yet it consisted most of scripture language; it had no rubric to be sung in an antic cope upon the stage of a high altar. 'It was bigmouthed,' he says; no marvel, if it were framed as the voice of three kingdoms; neither was it a prayer so much as a hymn in prose, frequent both in the prophets and in human authors; therefore the style was greater than for an ordinary prayer. 'It was an astonishing prayer.' I thank him for that confession; so it was intended to astound and to astonish the guilty prelates; and this confuter confesses that with him it wrought that effect. But in that which follows, he does not play the soothsayer, but the diabolic slanderer of prayers. 'It was made,' he says, 'not so much to please God or to benefit the weal public,' how dares the viper judge that? 'but to intimate,' saith he, 'your good abilities to her that is your rich hopes, your Maronilla.' How hard is it when a man meets with a fool to keep his tongue from folly? That were miserable

indeed, to be a courtier of Maronilla, and withal of such a hapless invention, as that no way should be left me to present my meaning, but to make myself a canting probationer of orisons. The Remonstrant, when he was as young as I, could

> 'Teach each hollow grove to sound his love,
> Wearying echo with one changeless word.'
> Toothless Satires.

And so he well might, and all his auditory besides, with his 'teach each.'

> 'Whether so me list my lovely thoughts to sing,
> Come dance, ye nimble dryads, by my side,
> Whiles I report my fortunes or my loves.'
> Toothless Satires.

Delicious! He had that whole bevy at command, whether in morrice or at Maypole, whilst I, by this figurecaster, must be imagined in such distress as to sue to Maronilla, and yet left so impoverished of what to say, as to turn my liturgy into my lady's psalter!

Believe it, graduate, I am not altogether so rustic, and nothing so irreligious, but as far distant from a lecturer, as the merest laic, for any consecrating hand of a prelate that shall ever touch me. Yet I shall not decline the more for that, to speak my opinion in the controversy next moved, 'Whether the people may be allowed for competent judges of a minister's ability.' For how else can be fulfilled that which God hath promised, to pour out such abundance of knowledge upon all sorts of men in the times of the gospel? How should the people examine the doctrine which is taught them, as Christ and his apostles continually bid them do? How should they 'discern and beware of false prophets, and try every spirit,' if they must be thought unfit to judge of the minister's abilities? The apostles ever labored to persuade the christian flock that they 'were called in

Christ to all perfectness of spiritual knowledge, and full assurance of understanding in the mystery of God.' But the nonresident and plurality-gaping prelates, the gulfs and whirlpools of benefices, but the dry pits of all sound doctrine, that they may the better preach what they list to their sheep, are still possessing them that they are sheep indeed, without judgment, without understanding, 'the very beasts of mount Sinai,' as this confuter calls them; which words of theirs may serve to condemn them out of their own mouths, and to show the gross contrarieties that are in their opinions; for while none think the people so void of knowledge as the prelates think them, none are so backward and malignant as they to bestow knowledge upon them, both by suppressing the frequency of sermons, and the printed explanations of the English Bible. No marvel if the people turn beasts, when their teachers themselves, as Isaiah calls them, 'are dumb and greedy dogs, that can never have enough, ignorant, blind, and cannot understand; who, while they all look their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter,' how many parts of the land are fed with windy ceremonies instead of sincere milk! And while one prelate enjoys the nourishment and right of twenty ministers, how many waste places are left as dark as 'Galilee of the Gentiles, sitting in the region and shadow of death,' without preaching minister, without light! So little care they of beasts to make them men, that by their sorcerous doctrine of formalities, they take the way to transform them out of Christian men into Judaizing beasts. Had they but taught the land or suffered it to be taught, as Christ would it should have been in all plenteous dispensation of the word, then the poor mechanic might have so accustomed his ear to good teaching, as to have discerned between faithful teachers and false. But now, with a

most inhuman cruelty, they who have put out the people's eyes, reproach them of their blindness, just as the Pharisees, their true fathers, were wont, who could not endure that the people should be thought competent judges of Christ's doctrine, although we know they judged far better than those great rabbies; yet 'this people,' said they, 'that knows not the law is accursed.'

We need not the authority of Pliny brought to tell us, the people cannot judge of a minister; yet that hurts not. For as none can judge of a painter or statuary, but he who is an artist, that is, either in the practice or theory, which is often separated from the practice, and judges learnedly without it; so none can judge of a christian teacher, but he who hath either the practice, or the knowledge of christian religion, though not so artfully digested in him. And who almost of the meanest Christians hath not heard the scriptures often read from his childhood, besides so many sermons and lectures more in number than any student hath heard in philosophy, whereby he may easily attain to know when he is wisely taught, and when weakly? whereof, three ways, I remember, are set down in scripture. The one is to read often that best of books written to this purpose, that not the wise only, but the simple and ignorant may learn by them. The other way to know of a minister, is by the life he leads, whereof the meanest understanding may be apprehensive. The last way to judge aright in this point, is, when he who judges, lives a christian life himself. Which of these three will the confuter affirm to exceed the capacity of a plain artisan? And what reason, then, is there left, wherefore he should be denied his voice in the election of his minister, as not thought a competent discerner?

It is but arrogance, therefore, and the pride of a meta-

physical fume, to think that 'the mutinous rabble,' for so he calls the christian congregation, 'would be so mistaken in a clerk of the university' that were to be their minister. I doubt me those clerks that think so, are more mistaken in themselves; and what with truanting and debauchery, what with false grounds and the weakness of natural faculties in many of them, it being a maxim in some men to send the simplest of their sons thither, perhaps there would be found among them as many unsolid and corrupted judgments, both in doctrine and life, as in any other two corporations of like bigness. This is undoubted, that if any carpenter, smith, or weaver, were such a bungler in his trade, as the greater number of them are in their profession, he would starve for any custom. And should he exercise his manufacture as little as they do their talents, he would forget his art; and should he mistake his tools as they do theirs, he would mar all the work he took in hand. How few among them that know to write or speak in a pure style; much less to distinguish the ideas, and various kinds of style; in Latin barbarous, and oft not without solecisms, declaiming in rugged and miscellaneous gear blown together by the four winds, and in their choice preferring the gay rankness of Apuleius, Arnobius, or any modern fustianist, before the native Latinisms of Cicero; in the Greek tongue most of them unlettered, or 'unentered to any sound proficiency in those Attic masters of moral wisdom and eloquence;' in the Hebrew text, which is so necessary to be understood, except it be some few of them, their lips are utterly uncircumcised.

No less are they out of the way in philosophy, pestering their heads with the sapless dotages of old Paris and Salamanca. And that which is the main point in their sermons, affecting the comments and postils of friars

and Jesuits, but scorning and slighting the reformed writers; insomuch that the better sort among them will confess it a rare matter to hear a true edifying sermon in either of their great churches, and that such as are most hummed and applauded there, would scarce be suffered the second hearing in a grave congregation of pious Christians. Is there cause why these men should overween, and be so queasy of the rude multitude, lest their deep worth should be undervalued for want of fit umpires? No, my matriculated confutant, there will not want, in any congregation of this island, that hath not been altogether famished, or wholly perverted with prelatish leaven, there will not want divers plain and solid men, that have learned, by the experience of a good conscience, what it is to be well taught, who will soon look through and through both the lofty nakedness of your latinizing barbarism, and the finical goosery of your neat sermon actor. And so I leave you and your fellow 'stars,' as you term them, 'of either horizon,' meaning, I suppose, either hemisphere, unless you will be ridiculous in your astronomy. For the rational horizon in heaven is but one, and the sensible horizons in earth are innumerable; so that your allusion was as erroneous as your stars; but that you did well to prognosticate them all at lowest in the horizon; that is, either seeming bigger than they are, through the mist and vapor which they raise, or else sinking and wasted to the snuff in their western socket.

SECTION XI.

His eleventh section intends I know not what, unless to clog us with the residue of his phlegmatic sloth, discussing, with a heavy pulse, the 'expedience of set forms;' which no question but to some, and for some

time may be permitted, and perhaps there may be usefully set forth by the church, a common directory of public prayer, especially in the administration of the sacraments. But that it should therefore be enforced where both minister and people profess to have no need, but to be scandalized by it, that, I hope, every sensible Christian will deny; and the reasons of such denial, the confuter himself, as his bounty still is to his adversary, will give us out of his affirmation.

First, saith he, 'God, in his providence, hath chosen some to teach others, and pray for others, as ministers and pastors.' Whence I gather that however the faculty of others may be, yet that they whom God hath set apart to his ministry, are by him endued with an ability of prayer; because their office is to pray for others, and not to be the lipworking deacons of other men's appointed words.

Nor is it easily credible, that he who can preach well, should be unable to pray well; whenas it is indeed the same ability to speak affirmatively, or doctrinally, and only, by changing the mood, to speak prayingly. In vain, therefore, do they pretend to want utterance in prayer, who can find utterance to preach. And if prayer be the gift of the spirit, why do they admit those to the ministry, who want a main gift of their function, and prescribe gifted men to use that which is the remedy of another man's want, setting them their tasks to read, whom the spirit of God stands ready to assist in his ordinance with the gift of free conceptions? What if it be granted to the infirmity of some ministers, though such seem rather to be half ministers, to help themselves with a set form; shall it therefore be urged upon the plenteous graces of others? And let it be granted to some people while they are babes in christian gifts, were it not better to take it away soon after, as we do

loitering books and interlineary translations from children, to stir up and exercise that portion of the spirit which is in them, and not impose it upon congregations, who not only deny to need it, but, as a thing troublesome and offensive, refuse it?

Another reason which he brings for liturgy, is 'the preserving of order, unity, and piety;' and the same shall be my reason against liturgy. For I, readers, shall always be of this opinion, that obedience to the spirit of God, rather than to the fair seeming pretences of men, is the best and most dutiful order that a Christian can observe. If the spirit of God manifest the gift of prayer in his minister, what more seemly order in the congregation, than to go along with that man in our devoutest affections? For him to abridge himself by reading, and to forestall himself in those petitions, which he must either omit or vainly repeat, when he comes into the pulpit under a show of order, is the greatest disorder. Nor is unity less broken, especially by our liturgy, though this author would almost bring the communion of saints to a communion of liturgical words. For what other reformed church holds communion with us by our liturgy, and does not rather dislike it? And among ourselves, who knows it not to have been a perpetual cause of disunion?

Lastly, it hinders piety rather than sets it forward, being more apt to weaken the spiritual faculties, if the people be not weaned from it in due time, as the daily pouring in of hot waters quenches the natural heat. For not only the body and the mind, but also the improvement of God's spirit is quickened by using; whereas they who will ever adhere to liturgy, bring themselves in the end to such a pass by overmuch learning, as to lose even the legs of their devotion. These inconveniences and dangers follow the com-

pelling of set forms; but that the toleration of the English liturgy now in use, is more dangerous than the compelling of any other which the reformed churches use, these reasons following may evince.

To contend that it is fantastical, if not senseless in some places, were a copious argument, especially in the responsories. For such alternations as are there used, must be by several persons; but the minister and the people cannot so sever their interests, as to sustain several persons, he being the only mouth of the whole body which he presents. And if the people pray, he being silent, or they ask one thing, and he another, it either changes the property, making the priest the people, and the people the priest by turns, or else makes two persons, and two bodies representative, where there should be but one; which, if it be nought else, must needs be a strange quaintness in ordinary prayer.

The like, or worse, may be said of the litany, wherein neither priest nor people speak any intire sense of themselves throughout the whole, I know not what to name it; only by the timely contribution of their parted stakes, closing up, as it were, the schism of a sliced prayer, they pray not in vain; for, by this means, they keep life between them in a piece of gasping sense, and keep down the sauciness of a continual rebounding nonsense. And hence it is, that as it hath been far from the imitation of any warranted prayer, so we all know it hath been obvious to be the pattern of many a jig. And he who hath but read in good books of devotion and no more, cannot be so either of ear or judgment unpractised to distinguish what is grave, pathetical, devout, and what not, but will presently perceive this liturgy all over in conception lean and dry, of affections empty and unmoving, of passion or any height whereto the soul

might soar upon the wings of zeal, destitute and barren, besides errors, tautologies, impertinences, as those thanks in the woman's churching for her delivery from sunburning and moonblasting, as if she had been travailing, not in her bed, but in the deserts of Arabia. So that while some men cease not to admire the incomparable frame of our liturgy, I cannot but admire as fast what they think is become of judgment and taste in other men, that they can hope to be heard without laughter. And if this were all, perhaps it were a compliable matter.

But when we remember this our liturgy, where we found it, whence we had it, and yet where we left it, still serving to all the abominations of the antichristian temple, it may be wondered how we can demur whether it should be done away or no, and not rather fear we have highly offended in using it so long. It hath indeed been pretended to be more ancient than the mass, but so little proved, that whereas other corrupt liturgies have had withal such a seeming antiquity, as that their publishers have ventured to ascribe them with their worst corruptions either to St Peter, St James, St Mark, or at least to Chrysostom or Basil, ours hath been never able to find either age or author allowable, on whom to father those things therein which are least offensive, except the two creeds, for Te Deum has a smatch in it of Limbus Patrum; as if Christ had not 'opened the kingdom of heaven' before he had 'overcome the sharpness of death.' So that having received it from the papal church as an original creature, for aught can be shown to the contrary, formed and fashioned by workmasters ill to be trusted, we may be assured that if God loathe the best of an idolater's prayer, much more the conceited fangle of his prayer.

This confuter himself confesses that a community

of the same set form in prayers, is that which 'makes church and church truly one.' We then using a liturgy far more like to the massbook than to any protestant set form, by his own words must have more communion with the Romish church, than with any of the reformed. How can we then not partake with them the curse and vengeance of their superstition, to whom we come so near in the same set form and dress of our devotion? Do we think to sift the matter finer than we are sure God in his jealousy will, who detested both the gold and the spoil of idolatrous cities, and forbid the eating of things offered to idols? Are we stronger than he, to brook that which his heart cannot brook? It is not surely because we think that prayers are no where to be had but at Rome! That were a foul scorn and indignity cast upon all the reformed churches, and our own. If we imagine that all the godly ministers of England are not able to newmould a better and more pious liturgy than this, which was conceived and infanted by an idolatrous mother, how basely were that to esteem of God's spirit, and all the holy blessings and privileges of a true church above a false? Hark'ye, prelates, is this your glorious mother of England, who, whenas Christ hath taught her to pray, thinks it not enough unless she add thereto the teaching of antichrist? How can we believe ye would refuse to take the stipend of Rome, when ye shame not to live upon the almsbasket of her prayers? Will ye persuade us that ye can curse Rome from your hearts, when none but Rome must teach ye to pray? Abraham disdained to take so much as a thread or a shoelatchet from the king of Sodom, though no foe of his, but a wicked king; and shall we receive our prayers at the bounty of our more wicked enemies, whose gifts are no gifts, but the instruments of our bane? Alas, that the spirit of God

should blow as an uncertain wind, should so mistake his inspiring, so misbestow his gifts promised only to the elect, that the idolatrous should find words acceptable to present God with, and abound to their neighbours, while the true professors of the gospel can find nothing of their own worth the constituting, wherewith to worship God in public! Consider if this be to magnify the church of England, and not rather to display her nakedness to all the world.

Like, therefore, as the retaining of this Romish liturgy is a provocation to God and a dishonor to our church, so is it, by those ceremonies, those purifyings and offerings at the altar, a pollution and disturbance to the gospel itself, and a kind of driving us, with the foolish Galatians, to another gospel. For that which the apostles taught, hath freed us in religion from the ordinances of men, and commands that 'burdens be not laid' upon the redeemed of Christ; though the formalist will say, What, no decency in God's worship? Certainly, readers, the worship of God singly in itself, the very act of prayer and thanksgiving, with those free and unimposed expressions, which from a sincere heart unbidden come into the outward gesture, is the greatest decency that can be imagined, which to dress up and garnish with a devised bravery abolished in the law and disclaimed by the gospel, adds nothing but a deformed ugliness, and hath ever afforded a colorable pretence to bring in all those traditions and carnalities that are so killing to the power and virtue of the gospel. What was that which made the Jews, figured under the names of Aholah and Aholibah, go a whoring after all the heathens' inventions, but that they saw a religion gorgeously attired and desirable to the eye? What was all that the false doctors of the primitive church and ever since have done, but 'to make a fair show in the flesh,' as St Paul's words are?

If we have indeed given a bill of divorce to popery and superstition, why do we not say as to a divorced wife, Those things which are yours take them all with you, and they shall sweep after you? Why were not we thus wise at our parting from Rome? Ah! like a crafty adulteress, she forgot not all her smooth looks and enticing words at her parting; Yet keep these letters, these tokens, and these few ornaments; I am not all so greedy of what is mine. Let them preserve with you the memory, of what I am? No, but of what I was, once fair and lovely in your eyes. Thus did those tenderhearted reformers dotingly suffer themselves to be overcome with harlot's language. And she like a witch, but with a contrary policy, did not take something of theirs, that she might still have power to bewitch them, but for the same intent left something of her own behind her. And that her whorish cunning should prevail to work upon us her deceitful ends, though it be sad to speak, yet such is our blindness, that we deserve. For we are in deep dotage. We cry out sacrilege and misdevotion against those who in zeal have demolished the dens and cages of her unclean wallowings. We stand for a popish liturgy as for the ark of our covenant. And so little does it appear our prayers are from the heart, that multitudes of us declare, they know not how to pray but by rote. Yet they can learnedly invent a prayer of their own to the parliament, that they may still ignorantly read the prayers of other men to God. They object, that if we must forsake all that is Rome's, we must bid adieu to our creed; and I had thought our creed had been of the apostles, for so it bears title. But if it be hers, let her take it. We can want no creed, so long as we want not the scriptures. We magnify those who in reforming our church have inconsiderately and blamefully permitted the old leaven

to remain and sour our whole lump. But they were martyrs. True; and he that looks well into the book of God's providence, if he read there that God for this their negligence and halting, brought all that following persecution upon this church and on themselves, perhaps will be found at the last day not to have read amiss.

SECTION XII.

But now, readers, we have the port within sight; his last section, which is no deep one, remains only to be forded, and then the wished shore. And here first it pleases him much, that he had descried me, as he conceives, to be unread in the councils. Concerning which matter it will not be unnecessary to shape him this answer; that some years I had spent in the stories of those Greek and Roman exploits, wherein I found many things both nobly done and worthily spoken, when coming in the method of time to that age wherein the church had obtained a Christian emperor, I so prepared myself as being now to read examples of wisdom and goodness among those who were foremost in the church, not elsewhere to be paralleled. But to the amazement of what I expected, readers, I found it all quite contrary; excepting in some very few, nothing but ambition, corruption, contention, combustion; insomuch that I could not but love the historian Socrates, who in the proem to his fifth book professes, 'he was fain to intermix affairs of state, for that it would be else an extreme annoyance to hear in a continued discourse the endless brabbles and counterplottings of the bishops.'

Finding therefore the most of their actions in single to be weak, and yet turbulent; full of strife, and yet flat of spirit; and the sum of their best councils there

collected, to be most commonly in questions either trivial and vain, or else of short and easy decision, without that great bustle which they made; I concluded that if their single ambition and ignorance was such, then certainly united in a council it would be much more; and if the compendious recital of what they there did was so tedious and unprofitable, then surely to sit out the whole extent of their tattle in a dozen volumes, would be a loss of time irrecoverable; besides that which I had read of St Martin, who, for his last sixteen years, could never be persuaded to be at any council of the bishops. And Gregory Nazianzen betook him to the same resolution, affirming to Procopius, 'that of any council or meeting of bishops he never saw good end; nor any remedy thereby of evil in the church, but rather an increase. For,' saith he, 'their contentions and desire of lording, no tongue is able to express.'

I have not therefore, I confess, read more of the councils save here and there. I should be sorry to have been such a prodigal of my time. But that which is better, I can assure this confuter I have read into them all. And if I want any thing yet, I shall reply something toward that which in the defence of Muræna, was answered by Cicero to Sulpitius the lawyer. If ye provoke me, for at no hand else will I undertake such a frivolous labor, I will in three months be an expert councilist. For, be not deceived, readers, by men that would overawe your ears with big names and huge tomes that contradict and repeal one another, because they can cram a margent with citations. Do but winnow their chaff from their wheat, ye shall see their great heap shrink and wax thin past belief.

From hence he passes to inquire wherefore I should blame the vices of the prelates only, seeing the inferior clergy is known to be as faulty. To

which let him hear in brief, that those priests whose vices have been notorious, are all prelatical, which argues both the impiety of that opinion, and the wicked remissness of that government. We hear not of any which are called nonconformists, that have been accused of scandalous living, but are known to be pious, or at least sober men; which is a great good argument that they are in the truth, and prelates in the error.

He would be resolved next, 'What the corruptions of the universities concern the prelates?' and to that let him take this, that the Remonstrant having spoken as if learning would decay with the removal of prelates, I showed him that while books were extant and in print, learning could not readily be at a worse pass in the universities than it was now under their government.

Then he seeks to justify the pernicious sermons of the clergy, as if they upheld sovereignty, whenas all christian sovereignty is by law, and to no other end but to the maintenance of the common good. But their doctrine was plainly the dissolution of law, which only sets up sovereignty, and the erecting of an arbitrary sway according to private will, to which they would enjoin a slavish obedience without law; which is the known definition of a tyrant and a tyrannized people.

A little beneath, he denies that great riches in the church are the baits of pride and ambition; of which error to undeceive him, I shall allege a reputed divine authority, as ancient as Constantine, which his love to antiquity must not except against; and to add the more weight, he shall learn it rather in the words of our old poet Gower than in mine, that he may see it is no new opinion, but a truth delivered of old by a voice from heaven, and ratified by long experience.

'This Constantine which heal hath found,
Within Rome anon let found
Two churches which he did make
For Peter and for Paul's sake;
Of whom he had a vision,
And yafe thereto possession
Of lordship and of world's good;
But how so that his will was good
Toward the pope and his franchise,
Yet hath it proved otherwise,
To see the working of the deed;
For in cronic thus I read,
Anon as he hath made the yeft,
A voice was heard on high the left,
Of which all Rome was adrad,
And said, This day venim is shad
In holy church, of temporal
That meddleth with the spiritual;
And how it stant in that degree,
Yet may a man the sooth see.
God amend it whan he will,
I can thereto none other skill.'

But there were beasts of prey, saith he, before wealth was bestowed on the church. What though? Because the vultures had then but small pickings, shall we therefore go and fling them a full gorge? If they for lucre use to creep into the church undiscernably, the more wisdom will it be so to provide that no revenue there may exceed the golden mean; for so good pastors will be content, as having need of no more, and knowing withal the precept and example of Christ and his apostles, and also will be less tempted to ambition. The bad will have but small matter whereon to set their mischief awork; and the worst and subtlest heads will not come at all, when they shall see the crop nothing answerable to their capacious greediness; for small temptations allure but dribbling offenders; but a great purchase will call such as both are most able of themselves, and will be most enabled hereby to compass dangerous projects.

But saith he, 'A widow's house will tempt as well as a bishop's palace.' Acutely spoken! Because neither we nor the prelates can abolish widows' houses, which are but an occasion taken of evil without the church, therefore we shall set up within the church a lottery of such prizes as are the direct inviting causes of avarice and ambition, both unnecessary and harmful to be proposed, and most easy, most convenient, and needful to be removed. 'Yea, but they are in a wise dipenser's hand.' Let them be in whose hand they will, they are most apt to blind, to puff up, and pervert the most seeming good. And how they have been kept from vultures, whatever the dispenser's care hath been, we have learned by our miseries.

But this which comes next in view, I know not what good vein or humor took him when he let drop into his paper. I that was erewhile the ignorant, the loiterer, on the sudden by his permission am now granted 'to know something;' and that 'such a volley of expressions' he hath met withal, 'as he would never desire to have them better clothed.' For me, readers, although I cannot say that I am utterly untrained in those rules which best rhetoricians have given, or unacquainted with those examples which the prime authors of eloquence have written in any learned tongue, yet true eloquence I find to be none, but the serious and hearty love of truth, and that whose mind soever is fully possessed with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse the knowledge of them into others, when such a man would speak, his words, by what I can express, like so many nimble and airy servitors, trip about him at command, and in well ordered files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places.

But now to the remainder of our discourse. Christ

refused great riches, and large honors at the devil's hand. But why, saith he, 'as they were tendered by him from whom it was a sin to receive them.' Timely remembered; why is it not therefore as much a sin to receive a liturgy of the masses' giving, were it for nothing else but for the giver? 'But he could make no use of such a high estate,' quoth the confuter; opportunely. For why then should the servant take upon him to use those things which his master had unfitted himself to use, that he might teach his ministers to follow his steps in the same ministry? But 'they were offered him to a bad end.' So they prove to the prelates, who, after their preferment, most usually change the teaching labor of the word, into the unteaching ease of lordship over consciences and purses.

But he proceeds. 'God enticed the Israelites with the promise of Canaan.' Did not the prelates bring as slavish minds with them as the Jews brought out of Egypt, they had left out that instance. Besides that it was then the time, whenas the best of them, as St Paul saith, 'was shut up unto the faith under the law, their schoolmaster,' who was forced to entice them as children with childish enticements. But the gospel is our manhood, and the ministry should be the manhood of the gospel, not to look after, much less so basely to plead for earthly rewards. 'But God incited the wisest man Solomon with these means.' Ah! confuter of thyself, this example hath undone thee. Solomon asked an understanding heart, which the prelates have little care to ask. He asked no riches, which is their chief care; therefore was the prayer of Solomon pleasing to God. He gave him wisdom at his request, and riches without asking, as now he gives the prelates riches at their seeking, and no wisdom because of their perverse asking.

But he gives not over yet. 'Moses had an eye to the reward.' To what reward, thou man that lookest with Balaam's eyes? To what reward had the faith of Moses an eye? He that had forsaken all the greatness of Egypt, and chose a troublesome journey in his old age through the wilderness, and yet arrived not at his journey's end, his faithful eyes were fixed upon that incorruptible reward, promised to Abraham and his seed in the Messiah; he sought a heavenly reward which could make him happy and never hurt him, and to such a reward every good man may have respect; but the prelates are eager of such rewards as cannot make them happy, but can only make them worse. Jacob, a prince born, vowed, that if God would 'but give him bread to eat, and raiment to put on, then the Lord should be his God.' But the prelates of mean birth, and ofttimes of lowest, making show as if they were called to the spiritual and humble ministry of the gospel, yet murmur and think it a hard service, unless, contrary to the tenor of their profession, they may eat the bread and wear the honors of princes; so much more covetous and base they are than Simon Magus, for he proffered a reward to be admitted to that work, which they will not be meanly hired to.

But, saith he, 'Are not the clergy members of Christ? Why should not each member thrive alike?' Carnal textman! as if worldly thriving were one of the privileges we have by being in Christ, and were not a providence ofttimes extended more liberally to the infidel than to the Christian. Therefore must the ministers of Christ not be overrich or great in the world, because their calling is spiritual, not secular; because they have a special warfare, which is not to be entangled with many impediments; because their master Christ gave them this precept, and set them

this example, told them this was the mystery of his coming, by mean things and persons to subdue mighty ones; and lastly, because a middle estate is most proper to the office of teaching, whereas higher dignity teaches far less, and blinds the teacher.

Nay, saith the confuter, fetching his last endeavour, 'The prelates will be very loath to let go their baronies and votes in parliament,' and calls it 'God's cause,' with an insufferable impudence. 'Not that they love the honors and the means,' good men and generous! 'but that they would not have their country made guilty of such a sacrilege and injustice!' A worthy patriot for his own corrupt ends! That which he imputes as sacrilege to his country, is the *only* way left them to purge that abominable sacrilege out of the land, which none but the prelates are guilty of; who, for the discharge of one single duty, receive and keep that which might be enough to satisfy the labors of many painful ministers, better deserving than themselves; who possess huge benefices for lazy performances, great promotions only for the execution of a cruel disgospelling jurisdiction; who engross many pluralities under a nonresident and slubbering despatch of souls; who let hundreds of parishes famish in one diocess, while they the prelates are mute, and yet enjoy that wealth that would furnish all those dark places with able supply; and yet they eat, and yet they live at the rate of earls, and yet hoard up, they, who chase away all the faithful shepherds of the flock, and bring in a dearth of spiritual food, robbing thereby the church of her dearest treasure, and sending herds of souls starveling to hell, while they feast and riot upon the labors of hireling curates, consuming and purloining even that which by their foundation is allowed and left to the poor and to reparations of the church. These are they who have bound the land

with the sin of sacrilege, from which mortal engagement we shall never be free, till we have totally removed with one labor, as one individual thing, prelaty and sacrilege. And herein will the king be a true defender of the faith, not by paring or lessening, but by distributing in due proportion the maintenance of the church, that all parts of the land may equally partake the plentiful and diligent preaching of the faith, the scandal of ceremonies thrown out that delude and circumvent the faith, and the usurpation of prelates laid level, who are in words the fathers, but in their deeds the oppugners of the faith. This is that which will best confirm him in that glorious title.

Thus ye have heard, readers, how many shifts and wiles the prelates have invented to save their ill got booty. And if it be true, as in scripture it is foretold, that pride and covetousness are the sure marks of those false prophets which are to come, then boldly conclude these to be as great seducers as any of the latter times. For between this and the judgment day, do not look for any arch deceivers, who in spite of reformation will use more craft or less shame to defend their love of the world and their ambition, than these prelates have done. And if ye think that soundness of reason, or what force of argument soever will bring them to an ingenuous silence, ye think that which will never be. But if ye take that course, which Erasmus was wont to say Luther took against the pope and monks, if ye denounce war against their mitres and their bellies, ye shall soon discern that turban of pride which they wear upon their heads, to be no helmet of salvation, but the mere metal and hornwork of papal jurisdiction, and that they have also this gift, like a certain kind of some that are possessed, to have their voice in their bellies, which being well drained and taken down, their great

oracle, which is only there, will soon be dumb, and the divine right of episcopacy forthwith expiring, will put us no more to trouble with tedious antiquities and disputes.

END OF VOL. I.

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